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The American Historical Association supplies the REVIEW to all its members; the Executive Council of the Association elects members of the Board of Editors.

Correspondence in regard to contributions to the REVIEW may be sent to the Managing Editor, J. Franklin Jameson, Carnegie Institution, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., or to the Board of Editors. Books for review may be sent to the Managing Editor. Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 41 North Queen St., Lancaster, Pa., or 66 Fifth Ave., New York. The price of subscription, to persons who are not members of the American Historical Association, is five dollars a year; single numbers are sold for \$1.50 (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for six dollars, up to and including vol. XXV. Volumes after that number may be obtained for \$7.50.

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The  
**American Historical Review**

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL  
ASSOCIATION AT ST. LOUIS<sup>1</sup>

“**P**OSCIMUR”, if one may borrow an exordium from Horace, and freely translate it, “We are put to it”. It is expected and required of the editor of the *American Historical Review* that in each April number there shall be one article “covering” the then recent annual meeting of the American Historical Association. It is a large order, when a meeting consists of twenty-five sessions, held in eleven different places, and in some instances held three or four at a time, and including in the aggregate at least sixty-five papers. It may be that so prodigious a bill of fare is welcome to most of those who attend, each member being sure to find something that interests him, something that lies in or near his “specialty”. It may be that no one but the reporter of the proceedings is confused by their multiplicity. Yet sometimes the thought arises, that it is not the soundest appetites which are ministered to by the complicated hotel *menu*, and that healthy minds might well ask the question,

What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,  
Of Attic taste?

The experiment of a simple programme of high quality might well be tried, and might have unifying effects of considerable value.

Howsoever these things may be, the attempt to deal with the St. Louis meeting must nevertheless be made. No one has the right to expect that such a chronicle shall be highly readable, but perhaps it is possible this year to lighten it by some omissions. By decree of the Association a year ago, upon recommendation from the Committee on Policy, it was resolved that hereafter a carefully composed summary of each paper read at any meeting should appear in the *Annual*

<sup>1</sup> Another account of the meeting, by Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, will be found in the *Historical Outlook* for March, 1922.

*Report*, whether the full text of the paper were printed in that volume or elsewhere or not at all. In view of the fact that some account of each paper will thus be accessible in print, it may be less necessary than heretofore that each should be summarized in these pages.

It added to the diversity, though also to the pleasure and interest of the occasion, that several other historical societies met at St. Louis during the same days, December 28, 29, and 30, 1921. With the Agricultural History Society, which by treaty has an organic relation to the American Historical Association, there were two joint sessions devoted to the agricultural history of the United States. With the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, many of whose members are also members of the older body, there was a joint session devoted to topics in the earlier economic history of the Mississippi Valley, and that society had also a subscription dinner on the evening of the 27th. The American Catholic Historical Association also began its sessions with a dinner on that evening; this was followed on the ensuing days by sessions comprising many interesting papers in American and European church history, by fruitful practical conferences on the general bibliography of church history, on Catholic archives in the United States, and on Catholic historical publications, and finally by a general session in which Professor James J. Walsh, president of the society, read his presidential address, on the Church and Peace Movements in the Past. Much active interest, with promise of much useful work in the future, was manifested in the meetings of all three of these societies. Two other organizations which convened at the same time were the Missouri Historical Society, of St. Louis, and the State Historical Society of Missouri, of Columbia, both of which participated in the exercises of the second evening, when there was a general session commemorative of the centennial anniversary of the admission of Missouri into the Union in 1821.

But besides the elements of diversity, there were of course also elements making for unity. The hotel in which headquarters were established, the Planters Hotel, gave abundant opportunities for conversation and sociability. The Missouri Historical Society entertained the guests, on one of the evenings, at the City Club, with a "smoker" for the men and a reception for the women; and there were several occasions on which the society came together as a whole, and not in specialized sections. Most notable of these was the dinner offered to all the members by the trustees of the Missouri Botanical Garden, founded as an institution thirty-three years ago by the will of Henry Shaw of St. Louis. After the dinner an address of welcome was delivered by Dr. Frederic A. Hall, chancellor of Washing-

ton University; and the president of the Association, the French ambassador, Mr. Jusserand, delivered the brilliant and instructive address which we have the honor to print on later pages of this number.

Another unifying, and very agreeable, occasion was the luncheon hospitably offered by Washington University on the second day, which gave members a gratifying opportunity to see the noteworthy campus and buildings of that institution, in whose halls most of the exercises of that day took place. To these should be added two general sessions, in which, with no alternative programmes to attract them elsewhere, members listened to the commemoration of the Missouri centennial, already mentioned, and to a group of papers in French history; at the latter session—held, it will be remembered, on soil that once was French—the ambassador of France presided.

The local arrangements, despite the number of places involved, ran very smoothly. For them the Association was indebted to the local committee headed by Mr. William K. Bixby and Mr. Charles P. Pettus, and especially to Professor Thomas M. Marshall, of Washington University. Evidently the committee must have exerted itself valiantly on the side of publicity also, for the St. Louis newspapers gave the meeting an amount of attention to which the Association is not accustomed; ordinarily, in the cities where the Association meets, the newspapers devote less space to the lucubrations of the historians than to the local weather, the latest bankruptcy, or the firemen's ball.

By a very gratifying action on the part of the railroad authorities, a reduction of fares such as used to be granted before the war was accorded once more on this occasion, though the number of attendants required in order to secure the concession was placed at a height which it will often be difficult for the combined societies to reach. The registration of the American Historical Association at this thirty-sixth annual meeting was 325, as against 360 at the thirty-fifth. The difference is only such as could be accounted for by the greater distances by which Western members are separated from St. Louis as compared with those which separate the average Eastern member from Washington, and the attendance may be regarded as excellent even upon pre-war standards.

The chairman of the Committee on the Programme was Professor Evarts B. Greene, who provided what was, by general agreement, an unusually interesting programme.

In accordance with the customary form of these annual surveys, one may well report first upon the various practical conferences, before speaking of those papers which lend themselves more readily to



a systematic or chronological order. First, then, of the conference on the teaching of history in schools. Its topic was that which has been so anxiously debated in recent years, that of the relations in the school curriculum between history and the other social sciences or studies. The two papers which served as the basis of discussion were one by Professor Rolla M. Tryon, of the University of Chicago, describing various forms of adjustment practised in elementary and secondary schools—independent courses, simultaneous or successive, in history and the cognate studies, and courses in which all these elements are fused, during either the whole or the earlier part of the curriculum—and one by Professor Eugene M. Violette, of the State Teachers College at Kirksville, Missouri, on the various adjustments possible in the curriculum of the college. The discussion showed plainly the perplexities of the present situation, the uncertainty as to how the contending claims of all these studies upon the pupil's time and mind, or, more exactly, upon the minds of school superintendents, can be reconciled. It would appear that it can only be done by joint effort of the representatives of all these studies in some one organic body. With this in view, though many efforts at solution of the problems may prove helpful, especial interest attaches to those undertaken by the National Council of Teachers of Social Studies,<sup>2</sup> a body formed for just such co-operative study, and in which it was intended that the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society should each be represented. The Executive Council of the Association, at this session, requested the Committee on History Teaching in the Schools to take an active part in the movement of co-operation which seems to be indicated as affording the best pathway out of the existing perplexities, and appointed as its representatives two members of that committee, Professors Henry Johnson and Arthur M. Schlesinger.

In the conference of archivists, the question how the states can be persuaded to take better care of their archives was discussed in the light of the experience of Iowa, with many helpful practical suggestions, by Mr. C. C. Stiles, of the Iowa State Department of History, and in the light of Connecticut experience by Mr. George S. Godard, of the Connecticut State Library. Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, chairman of the Association's Public Archives Commission, read a history of its achievements during the twenty-two years of its existence, and there was some discussion of its future, in view of the fact

<sup>2</sup> More recently named National Council for the Social Studies; see *post*, pp. 491-492.

that the reports upon the contents of state archives, which have constituted its chief published work, are now nearly completed.

The conference of historical societies, which enjoys a certain degree of autonomy under the auspices of the Association, elected Mr. Paltsits as its president for the next two years. Two papers were read in its session. In the first, Dr. Newton D. Mereness described the different varieties of Historical Material in Washington having Value for the Individual State—papers in the War Department relating to frontier defense, in the Indian Office relating to Indian relations, in the Department of State relating to the administration of territorial governments, in the Post Office Department relating to the development of communications and transportation, in the General Land Office on land matters, and in the House and Senate files on all these subjects. Dr. Theodore C. Pease, of the Illinois State Historical Library, in a paper on Historical Materials in the Depositories of the Middle West, showed how collections of historical material in that region had developed under a succession of concepts as to what constitutes history—from that view which made it consist almost solely in glorifying the heroes of the frontier and the wars of the republic, to the study of past politics as history, and ultimately to broadening inclusion of the economic, social, and religious aspects of the history of the state and of the whole region of which it forms a part.

For less formal consideration of special fields in which groups of members have a practical and effective interest, there were several "luncheon conferences", and a "dinner conference" of those especially interested in the work of the hereditary patriotic societies. At the preceding annual meeting the Council had appointed a special committee on relations with these societies, and this committee, under the efficient chairmanship of Professor Dixon R. Fox, of Columbia University, has made considerable progress in drawing the representatives of those societies into common consultation on matters of historical interest.

The topics of the respective luncheon conferences were: the history of science, that of the Great War, English history, American colonial history, Hispanic-American history, and the history of the Far East. The original intention respecting these conferences, when they were instituted, some years ago, was that they should be occupied with free and informal discussion, especially with practical discussion as to what tasks or problems most deserved to have the labor of scholars expended upon them, and in what manner that labor might best be directed, the prime objects being the exchange of experience

and the promotion of scientific work. But though these conferences, as they now run, by no means lack those elements of interest, in the main they have come to consist of formal written papers, often no different in character from those read in the main sessions—and no shorter. It would seem as if college professors, accustomed to talk informally to classes several times a week, might cut loose on these occasions from written texts, and, if there are tasks in their fields which they wish to urge others to engage or co-operate in, tasks suffering to be undertaken, might be aware of the superior hortatory power which resides in the spoken word as compared with the ten-minute or thirty-minute “paper”.

The free and characteristic talk of Professor Breasted on wheat in ancient Egypt, and like topics, in the conference on the history of science, and that of Professor Haskins on opportunities for research in the history of science afforded by European libraries, were examples of the value and attractiveness of this method. Another theme interestingly handled in that conference was that of Professor Archer B. Hulbert, of Colorado College, the various ways in which the natural sciences can be invoked to aid in the study of American history.

In the conference on the history of the Great War, Dr. Wayne E. Stevens, of Dartmouth College, described, with illustrations, the critical problems involved in the use of the official records of that war, problems of both external and internal criticism, attended by difficulties arising out of the enormous volume and varied character of the material, the multitude of inaccurate and unauthentic versions of documents, the haste with which documents were prepared, their technical language, and the various factors of human and military fallibility. Captain Shipley Thomas described the contribution made to the history of the war by a group of officers of the American Expeditionary Force, mostly regimental intelligence officers, one from each combat-unit, who were assembled at Langres for the purpose, a few days after the armistice, and for two months were occupied with the study and discussion of the military operations in which they had taken part.

In the “luncheon conference” on English history, Professor Arthur L. Cross, of the University of Michigan, indicated the dangers involved in the growing tendency to lay the chief emphasis, in historical teaching, on recent history and world-history. Also he pointed out the advantage of legal history as a teaching instrument. A paper on this subject, the need of the study of legal history by the law student or by college students preparing for the law school, by Professor Clarence C. Crawford, of the University of Kansas, was

read at this luncheon, and one by Professor Clarence Perkins, of the University of North Dakota, on Electioneering in the Time of Sir Robert Walpole.

The conference on American colonial history realized most completely the original ideal of these conferences, the speakers directing attention to a large number of fields calling urgently for more thorough research and indicating methods or materials for their cultivation. Thus, Professor Root of Wisconsin dwelt on the financial relations between England and the colonies as deserving further study, Professor Bond of Cincinnati on studies concerning colonial agents and concerning the relations between different regions in the colonial period, Professor Gipson of Wabash College on possibilities in the field of eighteenth-century colonial biography.

In the conference on Hispanic-American history, Professor Hackett, of the University of Texas, described the materials for Spanish history to be found in the library of the late Señor Genaro García of Mexico, recently acquired by that institution; Dr. Arthur S. Aiton of Michigan discussed the establishment of the viceroyalty in the New World, under Mendoza, as a projection into that continent of a Spanish institution which had already had a long development in Spain itself; and Professor Robertson of Illinois read a paper on the policy of Spain toward her revolted colonies in 1823-1824.

Finally, in the conference on the history of the Far East, Professor Rostovtseff of Wisconsin sketched the history of the influence of the art of Central Asia on South Russia and China, and a paper was read on Prince Shotoku and the Taikwa Reform in Japan in 645 A. D., by Mr. Langdon Warner, director of the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia.

Of the more formal sessions devoted to the reading and consideration of formal papers, the one which had the widest scope, and which may therefore deserve to be first spoken of, was a session devoted to the history of civilization. In opening it, its chairman, Professor Breasted of Chicago, in an extended paper, entitled *New Light on the Origins of Civilization*, adverted to the new opportunities for exploration and study in the Near East opened up by recent events, and to the want of adequate organization in America for exploiting these opportunities. He then passed to a description of the organization and methods of the Oriental Institute established at the University of Chicago, its collections, and its undertaking to edit, with much European aid, those early Egyptian coffin-inscriptions, archaic forerunners of the Book of the Dead, which should present us with our first chapters in the history of religion and morals. He then de-

scribed his very interesting and fruitful archaeological expedition of 1920 in Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Syria. Finally, from general considerations respecting the origins of civilization, he passed to the origins of science in particular, and described the contents of the Edwin Smith medical papyrus of the sixteenth century B. C., now belonging to the New York Historical Society.

In the same session, Professor Ferdinand Schevill, of the same university, speaking on the Relation of the Fine Arts to the History of Civilization, maintained with emphasis that the history of the fine arts could not be brought into accord with those theories respecting progress which are now dominant in the study of history. General Eben Swift, U. S. A., had a paper upon the Development of the Art of War, Professor William L. Westermann, of Cornell University, on historical aspects of Commerce and Economics, especially on the difficulties attending their treatment in respect to periods prior to the existence of trustworthy statistics.

In a session specially devoted to economic history, Professor N. S. B. Gras, of the University of Minnesota, read a paper on the Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America, which we shall have the pleasure of printing in a later number. That of Professor Harry E. Barnes, of Clark University, on the Significance of Sociology for Economic and Social History, dwelt on the impossibility of treating these subjects suitably without possessing an adequate knowledge of sociology, and of sociology in its latest and most satisfactory and most inclusive forms. While sociology, he said, furnishes the historian with his knowledge of the principles and patterns of human behavior, with which alone he can proceed intelligently in historical synthesis, the historian can provide the sociologist with invaluable genetic and comparative data, by recourse to which the sociologist can vastly improve the breadth and accuracy of his subject. "There is no danger of sociology engulfing or absorbing history. There will always be an ample opportunity for productive labor in gathering the concrete material descriptive of human progress." The last part of the paper was given to specific illustrations of the workings of the chief sociological factors in history.

The papers on ancient history, in the session set apart for that subject, were all concerned with the history of the Roman Empire. Recent Advances in our Knowledge of that field were indicated by Professor A. E. R. Boak, of Michigan, who adverted especially to the modern debates respecting the nature and theory of the principate, the worship of the emperor, the growth of the bureaucracy, the origin of the colonate, the religious transformations, the influence of Egypt



and of Parthia. Professor Frank B. Marsh, of Texas, endeavored to show to what extent and in what sense we may rightly regard the Empire as a Continuation of the Republic, and, urging the need of emancipating our minds from the influence of literary sources originating in the Antonine period, argued that Augustus made a serious effort to conform his settlement of the world to the old republican and aristocratic tradition. Professor Charles H. Oldfather, of Wabash College, described the chief varieties of New Light from the Papyri, dwelling particularly on their contribution to our knowledge of administration and of economic conditions in Egypt.

Of the papers in medieval history, that of Professor August C. Krey, of Minnesota, on the International State of the Middle Ages and Some Reasons for its Downfall, may be expected to appear ultimately in the pages of this journal. That of Professor Louis J. Paetow, of California, on the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries in the History of Culture, was largely a plea for a fuller study of medieval Latin, and even for its use as an international language in our time. That of Professor Lynn Thorndike, of Western Reserve University, on Guido Bonatti, dealt with an astrologer of the thirteenth century, placed by Dante in the eighth circle of the Inferno, and especially with his *Liber Astronomicus*.

Mention has already been made of an afternoon session occupied with the history of France. Of its five papers, four related to French history of the last two hundred years, one, that of Professor Earle W. Dow, of Michigan, to a medieval theme, that of Town Privileges under the "Établissements de Rouen", a subject which derives its importance from the fact that the Rouennese system was adopted, wholly or in part, by some thirty or more French towns, from the Channel to the Pyrenees. The ducal or royal charters of various dates from 1144 to 1278, and the communal Établissements, were carefully analyzed, their development traced, and allusion made to the light they cast on municipal life. Professor Albert F. Guérard, of the Rice Institute, followed with a paper, of marked excellence of literary quality, fair and discriminating, on Voltaire's Philosophy of History, as shown in the *Essai sur les Moeurs*, the *Histoire de la Civilisation*, and the *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, and on the rational humanitarianism which he represented. Monsieur Bernard Faÿ, of Paris, in a paper characterized by similar felicity of expression, yet by much evidence of research, discussed the close relations between the Revolutionary Philosophy in France and in the United States at the End of the Eighteenth Century—Luzerne's press, Vergennes's *Nouvelles d'Angleterre et d'Amérique*, the manner in which the young

French revolutionaries brought American ideas of politics and morals to bear on bourgeois minds (moral ideas more permanently than political), and, after the moral bankruptcy of the Directory, the manner in which Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant, Châteaubriand used their ideas of American society in their efforts toward a new Catholicism. Professor Fling, of Nebraska, gave a sketch of the history of the French Revolution; Professor Hazen, of Columbia University, described the Part which France has played in Liberating Other Countries—Greece, Belgium, Rumania, and Italy.<sup>3</sup>

Europe after the Congress of Vienna was the general subject of another session, with papers by Professor William A. Frayer, of Michigan, A Criticism of the Italian Settlement of 1815; by Professor Robert J. Kerner, of Missouri, on Nationalism and the Metternich System; by Professor Parker T. Moon, of Columbia University, on British Jealousy of French Imperialism after 1815; and by Professor J. M. S. Allison, of Yale University, on the July Days and After. Professor Frayer urged that, Italy having no man capable of ruling the whole peninsula, to divide it again into individual states checking and balancing each other was a more defensible policy than had commonly been thought, and indeed was practically inevitable. Dr. Kerner drew from the failure of Metternich's policy of repressing nationalism a hundred years ago the lesson that, however nationalism may prove to be outworn in regions of Europe already industrialized and otherwise economically advanced, it marks a necessary stage in the evolution of the new, chiefly agricultural, states lying to the eastward. Professor Allison's main effort was to account for the failure of the government of Louis Philippe. He considered its downfall to have been due, not to the laborers, but to the radical leaders, who, though unorganized and discordant, were able, under the leadership of the Friends of the People, to take sufficient advantage of the ministry's instability to wreck the general control.

In the session arranged for military history, after a paper by Col. Charles R. Howland, U. S. A., on the Causes of the World War, Col. Conrad H. Lanza read one on the Fifty-fifth Division on September 29, 1918, of particular interest to a St. Louis audience because that division consisted largely of Missouri and Kansas troops. The incident discussed occurred in the Ardennes, the division having a position on the right bank of the Aire. An attack which it was to make on the morning of the day named proved a failure, and the division was "withdrawn for reorganization", but Colonel Lanza showed in detail that the responsibility for the failure must be widely

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the *North American Review* for April.

distributed, that it was due to misunderstandings and blunders on the part of many officers in army, corps, division, and brigade staffs.

Few if any of the sessions evoked more interest than that which was devoted to the history of the American Revolution. It gave gratifying evidence that, though school-board politicians and members of legislatures still regard that history as solely a series of military events, in which the children of light, uniformly animated by the most glorious and unexampled patriotism, were uniformly victorious over the base children of darkness, serious students of history in increasing numbers take a rational view of the episode, and study it as they would study any other portion of history, with an eye chiefly to the political and social developments involved. This was made especially manifest in the discussion which followed the papers, in which Professors McLaughlin, Becker, Schlesinger, and Morison all took an illuminating part, and which, in a degree unusual in our meetings, was real discussion. The papers were two. Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, of Michigan, in his paper on the American Revolution in the Light of the Last Two Decades of Research, described and critically discussed the contributions made to a sounder knowledge of the period by various investigators, including the late George L. Beer and Professors Alvord, Becker, and Andrews, with exposition of the present-day opinion.

In the other paper, entitled *In re the American People vs. George III.*, Professor Clarence W. Alvord, of Minnesota, opposed to the older habit of ascribing all objectionable legislation to the sole influence of George III. the need of more thorough and discriminating study of the views and actions of the politicians who surrounded him. Dr. Alvord maintained the hypothesis that the factions of George Grenville and of the Duke of Bedford, desiring vindication for the repeal of the stamp tax, were the leaders in ministry and Parliament who caused the American Revolution. The active causes in the colonies were the financial depression succeeding the French and Indian War, the development of a non-English people in the colonies, and the propaganda put forth first for political purposes and then for the gaining of independence. The remarks of Professor Schlesinger included some very pertinent suggestions as to lines along which the history of this propaganda might well be further pursued.

The other period of American history to which a session was given was that of the generation following the Civil War. Mr. Paul L. Haworth, of Indiana, opened the session by a discussion of the Emergence of the Problems of the Period out of War and Reconstruction. The question of the status of the former Confederates

and of that of the seceded states proved comparatively simple. The problem of the negro was more difficult, and remains unsolved, though by reason of his having been left economically dependent upon his former master no very acute labor problem has arisen. But in the years from 1865 to 1877 financial problems of great importance claimed attention, problems connected with the debt, the tariff, and the currency, and in the field of economics the stimulation of manufactures accelerated the transition from the agricultural to the industrial age, forcing to the front new questions, for whose solution the American mind was ill prepared.

Professor Theodore C. Smith, of Williams College, illustrated the Congressional dealings with these problems, and especially with those of finance, in a paper on *Light on the Period from the Garfield Papers*. The collection was described as a rich mine of information on Congressional and party history from 1863 to 1880, but especially for the period after 1875, when, the Democratic party controlling the House, Garfield became "floor leader" of the Republican minority. When his own party was in power, his advocacy of resumption and of tariff reform had prevented him from becoming chairman of the committee of ways and means.

Three of the papers read in this session were devoted to the consideration of fields of study and research still imperfectly cultivated. Professor Arthur C. Cole, of the Ohio State University, discussed the application of the principles of historical criticism to newspapers and periodicals, and, since adequate direct use of these voluminous sources by the general historian has become a physical impossibility, urged the building-up of systematic means for their intelligent use through the making of a large number of careful monographs on various phases and various examples of modern American journalism. Professor Francis A. Christie, of the Meadville Theological School, treating of the Field of Religious Development, set forth as the most conspicuous movement of the period the national organization, or drawing together, of loosely related churches, combined with a shifting of emphasis to ethical and philanthropic interests; hence such developments as the Christian Commission and Sanitary Commission of the Civil War, the Conferences of the Evangelical Alliance, the Federal Union of the Churches of Christ, and the various interdenominational lay societies. Several of these deserve fuller study. Another factor was the development in the theological schools, with large consequences in clerical and other minds, of a scientific method for dealing with the data of religion. Fields awaiting full and dispassionate treatment are the progress of efforts toward social reform,

the marked adaptation of Catholic churchmanship to the principles of American political life, and the vogue of a new conception of divine grace in the circle of Christian Science and New Thought. Miss Ella Lonn, of Goucher College, propounded a remarkably wide variety of questions calling for investigation in the political, financial, economic, social, and cultural history of the South after Reconstruction, specifically of the years 1875-1890.

The papers read in the two joint sessions held with the Agricultural History Society happily combined the history of American agriculture with that of American social conditions. Thus, Professor Archer B. Hulbert, of Colorado College, discoursing of the Soil Factor in Pennsylvania and Virginia Colonization, showed how the abundant wheat crops of the Lancaster County region in Pennsylvania enabled that region to take the lead in furnishing the means of transportation—developing the Conestoga horse, the Conestoga wagon, the first turnpike, the first canal of any length—and, with these and its manufacture of firearms, in promoting the earlier waves of migration toward the West. Dr. Joseph Schafer, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, showed how the *Wisconsin Domesday Book*, the plan of which has been heretofore described in this journal, and which is being prepared under his supervision, casts abundance of fresh light—the light of exact data in place of tradition—on the processes of pioneer settlement in one state at least, and illuminates the character of land speculation, the choices made of lands, the differing social results of settlement in forested and in prairie townships. In the paper by Professor William W. Carson, of De Pauw University, on Agricultural Reconstruction in North Carolina after the Civil War, two matters were mainly discussed: the transition from wage labor, experimented with in the first few years after emancipation, to the system of cultivation on shares; and the westward extension of cotton cultivation, by means of fertilizers, and that of tobacco, of varieties suitable to lands hitherto considered too poor for that staple.

The other three papers in agricultural history looked rather at the political relations of agricultural industry and life. Professor Theodore C. Blegen, of Hamline University, had as his theme the Scandinavian Element and Agrarian Discontent. Sketching the early history of agricultural settlement on the part of the Scandinavians, and their relation to the Republican party down to the nineties of the nineteenth century, he attributed their defections from that party, at that time and later, to the general agrarian movement, particularly the Farmers' Alliance and Population, and to the influx of immigrants unfamiliar with the Republican tradition. The Scandinavians have



been influenced almost exclusively by economic and political, rather than by racial reasons; the habit of independent voting has continued. In quite another quarter, Professor Melvin J. White, of Tulane University, traced the Influence of Agricultural Conditions upon Louisiana State Politics during the Nineties, from the initial discontent of the small white farmer of the hill parishes, and his adhesion to the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party, through the movements of fusion with the Republicans in 1892 and 1894, to the electoral reforms of 1896 or the constitutional convention of 1898, which redressed most of the grievances of which the People's Party had complained. The paper by Professor Edward E. Dale, of the University of Oklahoma, on the Cattle Ranching Industry in that state, was mainly concerned with governmental relations and with influences of the industry upon the development of the West and upon the country as a whole. He described with skill the rapid growth of the business, the extraordinary and spectacular developments which led to its downfall and to the opening of Oklahoma to agricultural settlement, and the incompetence of Congress and government to deal with a situation involving an industry so technical.

Very naturally and appropriately, one of the sessions was devoted to papers commemorating Missouri history. Mr. Frederick W. Lehmann, of the St. Louis bar, described the state constitution of 1820, the general course of legislation under it, and the experiences which led to extensive modifications of the governmental system in the constitution of 1875. Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, set forth a variety of incorrect Traditions concerning the Missouri Question and a variety of paradoxes in Missouri history, urging a closer and a broader study of its development.<sup>4</sup> Under the title, A Sidelight on the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Dr. H. Barrett Learned presented an investigation, based on contemporary newspapers and the papers of Philip Phillips, M. C. from Alabama at the time of the repeal, designed to show that Phillips's careful formulation of an amendment to the Nebraska Bill about January 19, 1854, probably influenced the ultimate form of that bill. Professor William O. Lynch, of Indiana University, in a paper on the Influence of the Movements of Population on Missouri History before the Civil War, analyzed the population according to origins, period by period, and showed how ineffective relatively were the efforts of pro-slavery and anti-slavery partisans to direct immigration into Kansas at the height of the Kansas conflict; between 1850 and 1860 Tennessee contributed to Missouri eleven times the number

<sup>4</sup> For these two papers, see the *Missouri Historical Review* for January.

of people that she furnished to Kansas, Kentucky five times the number, and even New England sent more settlers to Missouri. In 1860 Missouri ranked seventh in population among the Union states; she also ranked seventh in the number of soldiers sent to the Union armies.

Last of the sessions, and last to be here spoken of, was one held in concert with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, of which the general theme was the economic history of the Mississippi Valley. Professor Cardinal Goodwin, of Mills College, read a paper on the Fur Trade and the Northwest Boundary, 1783-1818, a topic closely allied to that of Professor Bemis's article printed on later pages of this journal. Mrs. N. M. Miller Surrey, of New York, who on behalf of the Carnegie Institution of Washington is compiling the *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives relating to the Mississippi Valley* devised originally by a committee of the Association, drew from her great repository of notes the materials for a paper on the Growth of Industries in Louisiana, 1699-1763, full of new and detailed information, especially on the development of agricultural industries in that colony during the French period. For a later period, Professor Albert L. Kohlmeier, of Indiana, showed the relations between Commerce and Union Sentiment in the Old Northwest in 1860, demonstrating how, despite the commercial attachments of the northern part of the region to the northeastern states and of the southern portion to those of the southeast, which caused discord and hesitation in 1860, conditions of greater force held the region to unity, and by the middle of 1861 gave Union sentiment an overwhelming majority.

It is difficult, perhaps it is unnecessary, to generalize respecting papers so numerous and so multifarious. Many contributed new matter or new points of view, some made little or no such contribution. There was a gratifying tendency, which we believe to be general in the historical profession since the war, to pursue subjects having real importance, episodes which have had significant consequences or aspects of history which the interests of the present day have made worth while, as distinguished from topics which are pursued because it has been the conventional habit of our guild to pursue them, *idola tribus*, so to say. On the whole, it seems that most of the papers were good, but that few were of extraordinary excellence. Certainly few of the papers by Americans showed any of that gift of expression, those fruits of wide reading, which marked the papers of the two Frenchmen, and many were distinctly ill-written.

It remains to record the results of the business meeting of the Association, at which the first vice-president, Professor Haskins, pre-

sided. The secretary's report showed a total membership of 2,633, as compared with 2,524 reported a year ago, a gain of 109 members. The treasurer's report showed receipts of \$13,264, expenditures of \$12,584, but it is to be noted, from the summary of his report printed at the end of this article, that the excess of receipts over expenditures, \$680, is almost entirely accounted for by the receipt of \$650 in life-membership fees, which by vote of the Association are to be kept, as is proper in such cases, in a separate fund. Still further it is to be noted that \$2,904 of the receipts was derived from the voluntary contributions, additional to annual dues, which members have made in response to the invitations sent out in company with the annual bills. Therefore the need of a larger regular revenue remains apparent, and the constitutional amendment proposed last year, increasing annual dues from three dollars to five, and life-membership fees from fifty dollars to one hundred, beginning with September 1 next, was voted without dissent. It is hoped and believed that the change, in which the Association only follows at last a step which the analogous societies have already taken, will not cause the withdrawal of more than a very few, if any, of the members; and an increased revenue will enable the Association to resume or promote activity along several lines of investigation or other work which in recent years its poverty has compelled it to suspend or renounce. Meanwhile, the large response to the suggestion of contributions has given most gratifying evidence of the interest which members have in the Association and of their desire to sustain it effectively. The budget proposed by the Council is printed on a later page.

The amendment to the by-laws, relative to discontinuance of the primary ballot for nominations to office and to membership in the nominating committee, printed a year ago in this journal (XXVI. 436), was rejected; it was voted that the portion of the by-laws referred to should be so interpreted as not to make the results of the preliminary ballot mandatory upon the Committee on Nominations, but merely an aid in the making of its recommendations.

It was voted, upon hospitable invitation from Yale University and upon recommendation from the Council, that the annual meeting of December, 1922, should be held in New Haven. The Council recommended that that meeting should begin not earlier than Wednesday morning, December 27, and should close not later than Saturday noon, December 30. It was recommended that the meeting of December, 1923, be held in Columbus.

Reports from several committees were presented, and an oral report on behalf of the Pacific Coast Branch, by Professor Robert C.

Clark, its official representative on the present occasion. On report from the Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, that prize was awarded to Dr. Einar Joranson, of the University of Chicago, for an essay on the Danegeld in France. This may be the best place in which to mention that the award of the Justin Winsor prize, delayed a year ago, was finally made to Mr. F. Lee Bennis, of the University of Indiana, for an essay on the American Struggle for the British West Indian Carrying-Trade, 1815-1830. A series of rules for the award of the George Louis Beer Prize, for the "best work upon any phase of European international history since the year 1895", was proposed by the committee appointed a year before, and adopted by the Association. Copies can be obtained from the assistant secretary. A committee of five was appointed for award of the prize. The annual elections followed precisely the list presented by the Committee on Nominations. Professor Charles H. Haskins was elected president for the ensuing year, Professor Edward P. Cheyney first vice-president, Honorable Woodrow Wilson second vice-president. Professor John S. Bassett and Mr. Charles Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively. The eight elective members of the Executive Council were all re-elected, none of them having yet served the usual three years. For the Committee on Nominations to be presented next autumn, the Association chose Professors Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, William E. Lingelbach, Nellie Neilson, and William L. Westermann; the committee has since chosen Professor Bourne as chairman. The Council elected Professor William E. Dodd a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, in the place of Professor Van Tyne, whose term had expired. A full list of the committee assignments for 1922 follows this article.

J. F. J.

#### AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

That in article III. there be substituted for "three dollars", "five dollars"; and for "fifty dollars", "one hundred dollars"; so that the article shall read:

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not residing in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

*St. Louis Meeting of the*

## SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

## RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1920.....	\$5,031.16
Receipts to date:	
Annual dues.....	\$7,059.71
Life memberships.....	650.00
Registration fees.....	54.25
Voluntary contributions.....	2,903.75
Publications .....	336.44
Royalties .....	78.11
Interest on investments.....	1,368.51
Interest on bank account.....	67.44
Special contribution from American Historical Review Fund.....	500.00
Miscellaneous .....	56.87
Transferred from Endowment Fund.....	188.91
	<hr/> 13,263.99
	\$18,295.15
Gift, George L. Beer Prize Fund.....	5,000.00
Total receipts.....	<hr/> \$23,295.15

## EXPENDITURES

Office of secretary and treasurer.....	\$2,928.77
Pacific Coast Branch.....	43.86
Committee on Nominations.....	46.93
Committee on Membership.....	23.85
Committee on Programme.....	383.15
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	100.26
Committee on Policy.....	39.75
Committee on Agenda.....	75.03
Committee on Bibliography.....	295.39
Committee on Publications.....	677.29
Committee on History and Education.....	300.00
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00
Writings on American History.....	200.00
American Council of Learned Societies.....	153.89
Robert M. Johnston Prize.....	250.00
American Historical Review.....	7,040.90
	<hr/> \$12,584.07
Investments .....	8,113.65
	<hr/> 20,697.72
Cash balance November 30, 1921.....	\$2,597.43

## Receipts

## BUDGET, 1922

Annual dues .....	\$7,000.00
Registration fees .....	150.00
Publications .....	100.00
Royalties .....	50.00
Interest .....	1,400.00
Miscellaneous .....	50.00
	<hr/> \$8,750.00



*Expenditures*

Secretary and Treasurer .....	\$3,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch .....	50.00
Committee on Nominations.....	100.00
Committee on Membership.....	100.00
Committee on Programme.....	300.00
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	50.00
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00
Committee on Publications.....	700.00
Council Committee on Agenda .....	300.00
American Historical Review.....	7,000.00
Historical Manuscripts Commission.....	20.00
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.....	200.00
Writings on American History .....	200.00
American Council of Learned Societies.....	150.00
Committee on Bibliography .....	500.00
Committee on the Writing of History.....	75.00
	<hr/> \$12,770.00

Deficit, \$3,695.00

## OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

*President*, Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge.

*First Vice-President*, Edward P. Cheyney, Philadelphia.

*Second Vice-President*, Woodrow Wilson, Washington.

*Secretary*, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

*Treasurer*, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington.<sup>5</sup>

*Assistant Secretary-Treasurer*, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

*Editor*, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington.

*Executive Council* (in addition to the above-named officers):

James Ford Rhodes, <sup>6</sup>	William R. Thayer,
John B. McMaster,	Edward Channing,
Simeon E. Baldwin,	Jean J. Jusserand, <sup>6</sup>
J. Franklin Jameson,	Arthur L. Cross,
George B. Adams,	Sidney B. Fay,
Albert Bushnell Hart,	Carl R. Fish,
Frederick J. Turner,	Carlton J. H. Hayes,
William M. Sloane,	Frederic L. Paxson,
William A. Dunning,	Ruth Putnam,
Andrew C. McLaughlin,	James T. Shotwell,
George L. Burr,	St. George L. Sioussat.
Worthington C. Ford,	

## COMMITTEES:

*Committee on Programme for the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting:*

David S. Muzzey, 492 Van Cortlandt Park Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y., chairman; Eloise Ellery, Walter L. Fleming, Charles Seymour, Wilbur H. Siebert; and (*ex officio*) Nils A. Olsen and John C. Parish.

<sup>5</sup> For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

<sup>6</sup> The names from that of Mr. Rhodes to that of Mr. Jusserand are those of ex-presidents.

*Committee on Local Arrangements:* Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman.

*Committee on Nominations:* Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, chairman; William E. Dodd, William E. Lingelbach, Nellie Neilson, William L. Westermann.

*Editors of the American Historical Review:* Carl Becker, Archibald C. Coolidge, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, J. Franklin Jameson, Williston Walker.

*Historical Manuscripts Commission:* Justin H. Smith, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York, chairman; Annie H. Abel, Eugene C. Barker, Robert P. Brooks, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt.

*Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize:* Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University, Evanston, chairman; Chauncey S. Boucher, Thomas F. Moran, Bernard C. Steiner, C. Mildred Thompson.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize:* Conyers Read, 1218 Snyder Avenue, Philadelphia, chairman; Charles H. McIlwain, Nellie Neilson, Louis J. Paetow, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Wilbur H. Siebert.

*Public Archives Commission:* Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island, N. Y., chairman; Solon J. Buck, John H. Edmonds, Robert B. House, Waldo G. Leland.

*Committee on Bibliography* (including the *Manual of Historical Literature*): George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., chairman; Henry R. Shipman, 27 Mercer Street, Princeton, acting chairman; William H. Allison, Sidney B. Fay, Augustus H. Shearer. *Subcommittee on the Bibliography of American Travel:* Solon J. Buck, Milo M. Quaife, Benjamin F. Shambaugh.

*Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, secretary; and (*ex officio*) John S. Bassett, J. Franklin Jameson, Herbert A. Kellar, Justin H. Smith.

*Committee on Membership:* Louise F. Brown, 263 Mill Street, Poughkeepsie, chairman; Elizabeth Donnan, August C. Krey, Frank E. Melvin, Richard A. Newhall, John W. Oliver, Charles W. Ramsdell, Arthur P. Scott, John J. Van Nostrand, jr., James E. Winston.

*Conference of Historical Societies:* Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, Long Island, N. Y., chairman; John C. Parish, State Historical Society, Iowa City, secretary.

*Committee on the National Archives:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; Gaillard Hunt, Charles Moore, Eben Putnam, Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.

*Editors of the Historical Outlook:* Albert E. McKinley, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, managing editor; Edgar Dawson, Sarah A. Dynes, Daniel C. Knowlton, Laurence M. Larson, William L. Westermann.

*Committee on Military History:* Eben L. Swift, Army and Navy Club, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Thomas R. Hay, Eben Putnam, Oliver L. Spaulding, jr., Jennings C. Wise.

*Committee on Hereditary Patriotic Societies:* Dixon R. Fox, Columbia University, chairman; Natalie S. Lincoln, Harry B. Mackoy, Annie L. Sioussat, R. C. Ballard Thruston.

- Committee on Service:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; Elbert J. Benton, Clarence S. Brigham, Worthington C. Ford, Stella Herron, Theodore D. Jervy, Louise P. Kellogg, Albert E. McKinley, Herbert I. Priestley, James Sullivan.
- Committee on History Teaching in the Schools:* Guy S. Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, chairman; Henry E. Bourne, Philip P. Chase, Henry Johnson, Daniel C. Knowlton, Albert E. McKinley, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Eugene M. Violette.
- Committee on Endowment:* Charles Moore, Library of Congress, chairman.
- Committee on Obtaining Transcripts from Foreign Archives:* Charles M. Andrews, 424 St. Ronan Street, New Haven, chairman; Gailard Hunt, Waldo G. Leland.
- Delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies:* J. Franklin Jameson, Charles H. Haskins.
- Committee on the George L. Beer Prize:* Bernadotte E. Schmitt, 1938 East 116th Street, Cleveland, chairman; George H. Blakeslee, Robert H. Lord, Jesse S. Reeves, Mason W. Tyler.
- Committee on Historical Research in Colleges:* William K. Boyd, Trinity College, Durham, N. C., chairman; E. Merton Coulter, Benjamin B. Kendrick, Asa E. Martin, William W. Sweet.
- Representatives in the National Council for the Social Studies:* Henry Johnson, Arthur M. Schlesinger.
- Special Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read.
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## THE SCHOOL FOR AMBASSADORS<sup>1</sup>

OF the various honors with which I have been favored in the course of a long career, none gave me more pleasure with less trouble than the presidency of the American Historical Association: for which, as the last sands in my presidential hour-glass are about to fall, I beg to renew to the members of this society the expression of a truly felt gratitude. The lack of trouble is for me a cause of regret: I wish I had been better able to show my zeal for the great cause we have at heart. And what is that cause, outsiders may say? The cause of truth, with the persuasion that the past, better known, does not merely afford amusement to dilettanti, but may help us to discern the future, to avoid mistakes, to hasten the coming of better days. The past is like a great reflector; we want to keep it bright and its light turned toward the future.

A long career, I said: a very long one, indeed, begun forty-five years ago and continued without a break for illness or any other cause. The war of 1870 determined my choice; too young to enlist, at school while the older boys had joined the army and were defending Belfort, during that gloomy winter, when half the college was set apart for troops on their way to the front, we heard our professors tirelessly repeating that our ignorance, and especially our ignorance of foreign countries, had been our bane. And we were studying furiously, at the same time developing our bodies, by riding, fencing, swimming, climbing, trying to be complete men, learning dead languages and three or four modern ones, graduating in several branches instead of one, in the hope to be some day useful citizens for hard-pressed, bleeding France. I took degrees in law, literature, and science, and was studying a variety of other matters besides, when my family remonstrated, declaring: This cannot go on, you should select one special profession; we leave you alone this afternoon; when we return you must have made your choice.

So, I remained alone, in our country home, overlooking the valley of the Loire, with the familiar landscape before me, trees, fields, and distant mountains; mute advisers. Would it be a military career or a civil one? I spent some hard moments of doubt, then thought that, with such a terrible war (we considered it so in those days) so recent,

<sup>1</sup> Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association. at St. Louis, December 28, 1921.

there would probably be no other for a great many years; that if there were, everybody would serve as a matter of course, and that other callings might offer chances of more immediate usefulness. When the family returned, I had made up my mind, and shortly after, having reached the necessary age, I passed the competitive examination and entered the profession which I have now followed for nearly half a century, my good fortune having secured for me as my post of longest duration, the United States of America.

Of this profession I should like to say a few words to you. What was it in former times, and what is it now? Will it continue of use when there shall no longer be any distant posts; when, from his seat, your Secretary of State will be able to call: "Hello, give me Paris, give me London"; and even when Blériot's prediction shall have proved true, if ever it does, of people taking their breakfast in Paris, their lunch in New York, and flying back for their dinner in Paris the same day?

#### I.

Of very ancient lineage, born of necessity, this profession reached, in the fifteenth and immediately following centuries, such prominence as to become the subject of numerous treatises in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, in which was taught and described the art of diplomacy, the functions of the ambassador, the qualities the man should possess, the means he should resort to and abstain from, with hints as to his dress, his table, his manners, his talk, his secretaries and servants, his wife and whether he had better take her with him, his rights and privileges, the subject and style of his letters, and many more topics: a complete schooling. Those manuals of the perfect ambassador (which is the title of several of them) were especially numerous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with some excellent ones of an earlier or later date, the work of Rosergius, Barbaro, Dolet, Braun, Danès, Maggi, La Mothe-Le-Vayer, Tasso, Paschal, Hotman, Gentili, Marselaer, Vera de Çuniga, Bragaccia, Germonius, Wicquefort, Rousseau de Chamoy, Callières, Pecquet, and a host of others,<sup>2</sup> belonging most of them to the profession. Many are of great interest, not only on account of their actual subject, but for the insight they give into the private manners and public morals of the day.

On the antiquity and nobility of the art all agree. Ambassadors, according to La Mothe-Le-Vayer, became a necessity among men at

<sup>2</sup> See a short bibliography of the subject in Nys, "Les Commencements de la Diplomatie", in the *Revue de Droit International* (Brussels and Leipzig), XVI. 170, and Delavaud, *Rousseau de Chamoy* (1912), p. 46.

the moment, "or shortly after", when, Pandora's fateful box having been opened, evils were scattered throughout the world, and prospered, finding for their growth "a fruitful well-tilled ground".<sup>3</sup> Vera de Cùniga agrees, ambassadors became a necessity after Pandora's days, when the golden age came to an end, and men began to live in houses and to divide mine from thine: "Ambassadors had then to try and show where equity was, and recover what the ambition and the force of the ones had usurped upon the weakness or simplicity of the others. . . . It is reported that King Belus first made use of this means; poets however attribute it to Palamedes."<sup>4</sup>

Other writers find for ambassadors an even more exalted origin: the first ones were the angels of God, as was so appropriately recalled to his troops by King Herod, whose envoy had been done to death by the Arabs, a most execrable deed in the eyes of every nation, he said, especially for us who have received "our sacred laws from God, through his angels, who are his heralds and ambassadors".<sup>5</sup> Several commentators took pleasure in recalling how Solomon was, in his wisdom, favorable to ambassadors: "A faithful one is for his sender like the coolness of the snow during the harvest; he gives rest to the sender's soul."<sup>6</sup>

Pecquet at a much later date declares that "for men to live together in a state of society implies a kind of continuous negotiation. . . . Everything in life is, so to say, intercourse and negotiation, even between those whom we might think not to have anything to hope or fear from one another".<sup>7</sup> De Maulde in our own days wrote to the same effect: "Diplomacy is as old as the world and will not die before the world does."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Legatus seu de Legatione, Legatorumque Privilegiis, Officio, ac Munere Libellus* (1579). The institution began, according to Bragaccia, when the world was still in its cradle: "Cominciarono adunque gli huomini quasi nelli primi incunabuli del mondo essercitar questo ufficio, trattando fatti di pace e confederationi di guerre." *L'Ambasciatore, del Dottore Gasparo Bragaccia, Piacentino, Opera . . . utilissima alla Gioventù, così de Republica così de Corte* (Padua, 1626).

<sup>4</sup> *El Enbaxador, por Don Juan Antonio de Vera y Cùniga, Commendador de la Barra* (Seville, 1620), fol. 22. The author, born in 1588, had been Spanish ambassador to Venice. A French translation by Lancelot, *Le Parfait Ambassadeur* (Paris, 1635, several times reprinted, one last edition, Leyden, 1709), greatly contributed to the spreading of his ideas. The work is in the form of a dialogue between Jules and Louis.

<sup>5</sup> In Josephus's *History of the Jews*, bk. XV., ch. 8; referred to by Alberico Gentili, *De Legationibus* (London, 1585), ch. XX., "De Legationum Causa et Antiquitate."

<sup>6</sup> Prov., xxv. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Discours sur l'Art de Négociier* (Paris, 1737), pp. viii, x.

<sup>8</sup> *La Diplomatie au Temps de Machiavel* (Paris, 1892, 3 vols.), I. 1.



As a matter of fact, whether Belus or Palamedes, the angels or unconscious Pandora, were the founders of the order, it is a very ancient one, and the oldest and remotest nations had of necessity recourse to it. The more so that, before the establishment of Christianity, which however did not entirely sweep away the evil, every nation, including the most civilized, saw in the others, as a matter of course, and whatever their state of development, enemies and barbarians. In the Greek language, the word *βάρβαρος* means a foreigner, a man who, being not a Greek, is, of necessity, a barbarian. In Latin the word *hostis* means both a foreigner and an enemy; the poet Lucan calls a civil war *bellum sine hoste*, a war with no foreigner (no enemy) in it.

In spite of prejudices, intercourse was, however, conducive to a better understanding of each other and to the discovery of the fact that, notwithstanding a man's having a native tongue different from ours, he might possibly be something else than a barbarian and an enemy. Embassies were sent, temporary ones, it is true, by all nations, from the earliest days; the Greeks use ambassadors, *πρέσβεις*, in the Iliad, among whom figures, I am sorry to say, that shrewd, unscrupulous slacker, Ulysses. Plato, under the name of Socrates, derides the use sometimes made of sophists for the purpose, and shows one of the most famous, Hippias, thus explaining the infrequency of his visits to Athens: "Time has failed me, Socrates. On each occasion Elis has some business to settle with another city, it is of me, first of all, that she thinks for an ambassador, considering me cleverer than any, either to form a judgment or to pronounce the words necessary in those relations between states."<sup>9</sup> Temporary satisfaction, especially for the speaker, but no durable advantage could be expected, Plato leads us to understand, from the eloquence of sophists.

Immense hopes were raised when that new régime was established in the world which had for its dogma no longer: any foreign nation is an enemy nation, but "love ye one another". The consequence was a wonderful attempt to form, in the midst of rampant barbarity and ferocity, of unspeakable sufferings and destruction, of falling empires and dying former-day religions, a first grouping of all the nations of the world or at least the Christian ones, not in a league, or a society, but, for a wonder at such a period, a family of nations: love ye one another.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Beginning of the dialogue *Hippias Major*.

<sup>10</sup> There were even attempts at general arbitration covenants, one of 1304: "Quant au principe de l'arbitrage pour la solution des difficultés internationales, de tout temps il a été posé et l'on a cherché à le faire pénétrer dans la pratique.

The father of the family, the ever ready umpire, the peacemaker, was to be the Vicar of Christ, the pope. The prodigious attempt was a comparative success and a comparative failure, the sum total being however progress, with the introduction of the "truce of God", the efforts to localize wars, to suppress private ones, to settle disputes peacefully. God was admittedly the real ruler of the world; popes, holding their powers direct from him, exalted themselves high above kings: hence the devising by kings of the theory of their own divine right, so as not to have to go any more to Canossa.

As the powers of kings rose, that of the pope diminished, but the notion of a family of Christian nations long survived. "Mankind," wrote the *doctor eximius*, Suarez, in 1613, "although divided into various peoples and realms, ever has a certain unity, not only a specific, but a, so to say, political and moral one, as evidenced by the natural precept of reciprocal love and pity, which extends to all, including even foreigners of whatever nation."<sup>11</sup> Love ye one another.

No wonder that the first diplomatic service to develop was that of the pope; that of the princes and republics of Italy followed suit, the Venetian one foremost, endowed with strict regulations as early as the thirteenth century. The dangerous, ill-paid function being not attractive to everybody, the Venetian appointees were forbidden under severe penalties to refuse to serve except by reason of confirmed ill-health; the slightest indiscretion was punished; on their return the ambassadors were expected to hand to the public treasury any presents they had received while abroad; they had to draw up a general report on their mission, and those reports early enjoyed wide fame, well deserved and still enduring. The clever French diplomat and writer Hotman de Villiers declares in his treatise on *L'Ambassadeur*,<sup>12</sup> that Venetian envoys will have nothing to learn from him, being themselves past masters.

Des patentes du roi de France du 17 Juin 1304 promulguent un pacte d'arbitrage permanent avec le comte de Hainaut . . . les cas seront jugés par quatre arbitres au choix des deux gouvernements. . . . Mais cette pratique ne fit aucun progrès". De Maulde La Clavière, *La Diplomatie au Temps de Machiavel* (1892), III. 102.

<sup>11</sup> "Ratio autem hujus partis et juris est, quia humanum genus quantumvis in varios populos et regna divisum, semper habet aliquam unitatem, non solum specificam, sed etiam quasi politicam et moralem, quam indicat naturale praeceptum mutui amoris et misericordiae, quod ad omnes extenditur, etiam ad extraneos et cujuscumque nationis." *Tractatus de Legibus ac Deo Legislatore* . . . authore P. D. Suarez, *Granatensi* (Antwerp, 1613), p. 129.

<sup>12</sup> *L'Ambassadeur, par le Sieur de Vill. H.* (n. p., 1603); this remarkable work enjoyed great success and had several editions; the author, a Protestant, 1552-1636, filled several missions as secretary or envoy in Switzerland and to the Protestant princes of Germany.

The advantage of possessing such a service was so obvious that all nations arranged to have one, selecting for the function their best men, and most famous writers, poets, thinkers, speakers. Ambassadors, a word in use from the thirteenth century, and like that of minister meaning servitor, were often called *orators*. Without speaking of numerous preachers and prelates, Italy had recourse to Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli; Tasso was secretary of embassy; France employed Eustache Deschamps, the friend of Chaucer,<sup>13</sup> Alain Chartier, "father of French eloquence", using at the Renaissance the services of the famous humanist Budé as an ambassador, and of Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay as secretaries of embassy; England had for her envoys Chaucer, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Philip Sidney;<sup>14</sup> Scotland had Sir David Lindsay, and others of great fame.

## II.

Those missions were temporary ones; the custom of having permanent embassies spread greatly however toward the end of the fifteenth century; the increase was coeval with the establishment of permanent armies, the one being as the antidote of the other.

The idea of a family of nations had definitively failed; the father of the family had been unequal to the task; the great schism had shown a house divided against itself; worldly, military, political, interests had made it impossible for the popes to inspire in the conflicting nations, with one or the other of which they were themselves more or less in league, confidence in their impartiality; a new religion had sprung up, and there was no longer one Christianity but, as it seemed, several, each warring on the other.

That keen observer of the ways of the world, Erasmus, was stag-

<sup>13</sup> Who described in one of his poems the woes, in those days, and in other days, of an "Ambassador and messenger".

Vous, ambassadeur et messenger,  
Qui allez par le monde ès cours  
Des grands princes pour besogner,  
Votre voyage n'est pas court. . . .  
Il faut que votre fait soit mis  
Au conseil, pour répondre à plein :  
Attendez encor, mon ami!  
Temps passe et tout vient à rebours.

*Oeuvres*, ed. de Queux de St. Hilaire, VII. 116.

<sup>14</sup> The only perfect ambassador that ever was, according to Gentili: "In uno enim viro excellentem hanc formam inveniri et ostendi posse confido; nam omnia sic habet, quae ad summum hunc nostrum oratorem constituendum requiruntur, ut cumulatoria etiam habeat et ampliora. Is est Philippus Sydneius." *De Legationibus* (Hannover, 1607), last chapter.

gered at the sight, and, writing in the early years of the sixteenth century his book of advice for the young prince who was to be the famous Emperor Charles V., he wondered how this retrogression could be possible among Christian nations: how can they try to destroy one another? "In both camps Christ is present, as if He were fighting against Himself." How could the idea of a family of nations have fallen into such disregard? "Plato calls the fights between Greeks and Greeks sedition, not wars, and they should be conducted, he recommends, with great moderation. What shall we therefore call battles between Christians and Christians when they are bound together by such links?" Family ties are falling into disrespect and the world goes back to the time when the words foreigner and enemy meant one and the same thing: "Nowadays the Englishman hates the French, the Frenchman the English, for no other cause except that he is English." The same with all the others. "How can it be that we are absurdly separated by those mere names, more than we are bound together by the name of Christ?"<sup>15</sup>

No hope, indeed, was left for a family of nations. In the ceaseless turmoil, with religious wars added to political ones, and armies overrunning France, Italy, Germany, whence could come any faint ray of hope for better and more peaceful days? There seemed to be no hope; writing in the latter part of the fourteenth century his famous *Arbre des Batailles*, Prior Honoré Bonet had already devoted one of his chapters to the question: "Is it a possible thing that naturally the world be in peace?" and the first sentence in the chapter was: "To this, I answer, No."<sup>16</sup> And it had gone since from bad to worse.

Having nowhere else to turn, many thought of those messengers of peace, and assuagers of quarrels, the public envoys; and then began to flourish that extraordinary literature of manuals to teach those men their duties, and to impress on them the sacredness and the quasi-sacerdotal character of a mission, the chief object of which was, of course, the service of their country, but moreover that of the peace and welfare of the whole world. Early expressed, this view was maintained for ages, the consequence being more and more strict

<sup>15</sup> And this when our fragile lives are troubled by so many calamities: "Quam fugax, quam brevis, quam fragilis est hominum vita, et quot obnoxia calamitatibus, quippe quam tot morbi, tot casus impetunt assidue, ruinae, naufragia, terrae motus, fulmina? Nihil igitur opus bellis accersere mala et tamen hinc plus malorum quam ex omnibus illis." *Institutio Principis Christiani* (first ed., Louvain, 1516).

<sup>16</sup> "Si c'est chose possible que naturellement le monde soit en paix? A quoy je vous respons que nennil." *L'Arbre des Batailles*, ed. Nys (1883), part III., ch. 2. Bonet was prior in the Benedictine monastery of Salon.

requirements exacted from people on whose action so much depended. In the course of the fifteenth century, the French prelate Bernard du Rosier (Rosergius), archbishop of Toulouse, had written one of the first manuals for ambassadors, "grande hoc officium ne vilesceat".<sup>17</sup> As late as the second half of the eighteenth century Lescalopier de Nourar wrote his, in order to show that, smoothed by negotiators, the road followed by mankind could "become the road to happiness. The welfare of nations is in the hands of ambassadors; their designs maintain calm or blow troubles. They arm or pacify nations".<sup>18</sup>

Immense therefore was the responsibility of those men; immense the need that they be well chosen, well prepared for the task, and that they act properly. Never was, and no wonder, a public career the occasion of so many studies and guide-books, a rather puzzling collection, it is true, for the advice in it, sometimes contradictory, was always imperative, being ever justified by examples from the Bible and the almost equally indisputable practice of the ancients.

In the theories of an art so important for mankind nothing was neglected, from the physical appearance of the person to the most exalted of the religious and moral virtues. According to those experts, an ambassador should be, as far as possible, good-looking; a man who is lame, says the Greek scholar and former secretary of embassy, Dolet, whose remark does not indicate much kindheartedness in his contemporaries, "is received with laughter".<sup>19</sup> Archbishop Germonius insists: "Beauty commends a man better than any letter"; remember that "David is called handsome by God", and that one "could not be a Vestal if afflicted with any deformity".<sup>20</sup> Vera y Çuniga tolerates baldness, for the unanswerable reason that Caesar was bald, and there is nothing to show that this great general would not have been a great ambassador if he had tried.

Each is however wise enough to add that talent is after all the

<sup>17</sup> *Ambaxiator, Brevilogus Prosaico Morali Dogmate pro Felici et Prospero Ducatu circa Ambaxiatis Insistencium Excerptus*, in MS. at the National Library, Paris, printed by V. E. Hrabar in his *De Legatis et Legationibus Tractatus Varii* (Dorpat, 1906). The author, Bernard du Rosier (or de la Roseaie), wrote his *Ambaxiator* in 1436; he died, archbishop of Toulouse, in 1475. See also Hrabar in *Revue de Droit International*, second series, I. 314.

<sup>18</sup> *Le Ministère du Négociateur* (Amsterdam, 1763), p. xvi. The author, a "maitre des requêtes" and writer on political subjects, was born in Paris, 1709, and died there 1779.

<sup>19</sup> "Quod si deformes sumus, aut vitio aliquo deturpati, aut re aliqua manci, tum cum risu excipimur." *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 11.

<sup>20</sup> *Anastasiū Germonii. . . Archiepiscopi et Comit̃s Tarantasiensis et. . . Allobrogorum Ducis. . . Legati, De Legatis Principum et Populorum* (Rome, 1627), bk. I., ch. 12. Born in Piedmont in 1551, in great favor with several popes, he died in 1627, being then ambassador of Savoy to Spain.

chief thing, and must be considered first in the selection of an ambassador. So much the better if he has good looks, if he is in, at least, "moderately easy circumstances",<sup>21</sup> and possesses "a well sounding name" (*legatum bene sonans nomen habere debet*), but merit outranks all else; Cicero's name was commonplace, *ignobilis*; none more famous. Actual merits are of more import than the deeds of our ancestors.<sup>22</sup>

According to nearly all, the envoy should be neither so old as to be inactive through ill-health or the number of his years, nor so young as to prove immature or inconsiderate.<sup>23</sup> Vera wonders whether it would not be appropriate to send in some cases two ambassadors, an older one who would shine by his wisdom and a younger one by his sprightliness. The temper of the prince to whom the ambassador is sent should moreover be taken into account, for this as for the rest; it would never do, Hotman says with unimpeachable wisdom, to send a Protestant to the pope or a bishop to the Turk.

Written most of them at the time of the Renaissance or under its influence, those treatises want the ambassador to be very learned and supremely eloquent. He should be able to speak admirably, either in private or in public, the latter, says Hotman, being of importance especially "in popular states", which continues indeed to be true. All insist on eloquence. The Italian jurist Maggi wishes his perfect ambassador to possess "supreme eloquence, the most splendid gift", he says, "bestowed on mankind by immortal God".<sup>24</sup> No one, according to Tasso, who wrote on ambassadors a dialogue less famous than his *Gerusalemme Liberata*, "can be a perfect ambassador, who is not at the same time a good orator", and for this reason the Romans had early called their envoys "orators".<sup>25</sup> For Vera, eloquence "is the most essential part of the ambassador"; Gentili has a whole chapter, "Legatus ut sit orator".<sup>26</sup> Some ambassadors of the

<sup>21</sup> "En quelque médiocrité pour le moins." Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur* (1603), p. 12.

<sup>22</sup> Germonius, *De Legatis Principum et Populorum* (1627), bk. I, ch. 11. "On ne choisit pas," Blaise Pascal said later, "pour gouverner un vaisseau celui des voyageurs qui est de meilleure maison." *Pensées*.

<sup>23</sup> "Trop gay, léger et imprudent, comme un qui fut envoyé à quelques aliez de ceste couronne, lequel se pourmenoit le soir et partie de la nuit par les rues, avec des gens de son aage, jouant de la mandore, en chausses et en pourpoint." Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup> *De Legato Libri Duo Octaviani Maggi* (Venice, 1566).

<sup>25</sup> "Non puo dunque alcuno esser perfetto ambasciatore, ch'insieme non sia buon' oratore." *Il Messaggero, Dialogo del Signor Torquato Tasso*, first ed. (Venice, 1582).

<sup>26</sup> *De Legationibus Libri III*. (London, 1585, several editions). Alberico



period had among their personnel a professional orator to help them with their speeches.

The envoy must, however, be careful not to allow himself to be carried away by his own gift of speech. After having stated that "prudence and learning are of little avail, for an ambassador, without eloquence", Braun, whose treatise is of 1548, says: "The name of eloquent we refuse however to the verbose, the irrepressible, the inconsiderate, the empty and insincere speakers, such as the courts of kings and princes are wont to produce and foster, who fill the lands and the seas with the vain sound of their words . . . to them applies the saying of the Scriptures: the fool multiplies his words." The really eloquent aptly fit their discourse to the occasion; "their words do not come from their lips but from their hearts."<sup>27</sup>

Able to speak at length when there is need, the ambassador should by preference be brief.<sup>28</sup> "His way of speaking", Hotman says, "will be grave, brief and weighty, not interspersed with many quotations, as a master of arts would do, or with rare words, and antiquated: I have seen more than one fail through affectation."<sup>29</sup> He must attune himself to the people he addresses; to "pindarize" is not the way to touch the Swiss or the Dutch. He should prepare his public speeches with care, but never learn them by heart, for fear that, if a word escapes him, he might utterly break down.

As for knowledge, that of the ambassador, according to his most zealous teachers and well-wishers, should be boundless. Sir Thomas More's Utopians had ambassadors and they selected them, as well as their priests, "oute of this ordre of the learned".<sup>30</sup> The envoy must be an indefatigable reader,<sup>31</sup> else he is as sure to fail as a soldier who should be indifferent to physical exercise. History is to be, of course, his chief study; on this all agree, but this is only one item of the living encyclopedia he must be. Maggi wants him well versed in the Scriptures, in the art of dialectics, in the civil science, that is Gentili, an Italian Protestant refugee and very prolific author, was professor of civil law at Oxford; he died in 1608.

<sup>27</sup> One of the rare good passages in Braun, a Württemberg jurist (d. 1563), himself remarkably verbose: *D. Conradi Bruni Jureconsulti Opera Tria. . . . De Legationibus*, etc. (Mainz, 1548, fol.). Of pedantic disposition, he examines not only who can be an ambassador but who should not, taking the trouble to exclude children.

<sup>28</sup> "Quid enim juvat inanis loquacitas? cui usui est supervacanea scribendi ostentatio?" Dolet, *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> *L'Ambassadeur*, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Ralph Robinson's English version, first ed. 1551, Arber's ed. p. 86.

<sup>31</sup> "Legato itaque opus est lectione, eaque assidua; ne sit inutilis labor atque inanis opera." Germonius, p. 79.

the government of states and cities, in natural history, astronomy, mathematics, geography, the military art, philosophy, for, as Plato has observed, the city will not be happy until philosophers reign or kings philosophize; he must know the lands and the seas and be a good musician; he should practise contemplation, for it is the source of action.

Maggi, who had painted his ambassador as his compatriots painted their glorified, godlike princes on the ceilings of their palaces, had gone so far that some protested, Hotman for instance, who reproaches him and his like for making of their diplomat "a theologian, astrologer, dialectician, excellent orator, learned as Aristotle and wise as Solomon". But, while recalling that to be an expert *de omni re scibili* was, especially for a man in active life, an impossibility, critics might have acknowledged the fact, still a fact, that there is no kind of knowledge, science, or accomplishment that cannot happen to be of use in such a profession, and therefore as many as "nostra tam actiosa vita" allows us, to use Maggi's words, should be acquired. I should have been greatly surprised, if I may quote a personal example, had any one told me, when in boyhood days I was swimming rivers and climbing rocks, that this "accomplishment" would be of service years later, when, an ambassador in far-off America, in order to keep company with the chief of the state, President Roosevelt, I swam the Potomac and climbed the quarries south of the stream. The same with contemplation; many may have experienced, as I often have, the good done by a solitary walk, in inspiring resolutions and rectifying judgments.

Even those however who did not go so far as Maggi, mapped out a wide enough plan of studies for their ambassadorial pupil. Hotman, for all his criticism, wants his envoy to know history, moral and political philosophy, foreign languages, Roman civil law, and generally speaking, to be addicted to letters, for such an intellectual training "teaches you how to talk and answer, to judge of the justice of a war, of the equity of all pretensions and requests . . . how to weigh reasons and escape sophisms and subtilities". If the appointee lacks that education, he must, even while in office, try to acquire as much of it as he can, "though, truth to say, it is rather late to begin digging a well when feeling thirsty. . . . He will especially avoid showing disdain for lettered people, but display consideration to men of learning and experience, who are cherished in all civilized states".<sup>32</sup> A just measure must be observed by him and he shall carefully ab-

<sup>32</sup> *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 13.

stain from imitating, says Wicquefort, "l'humeur contredisante" of pedants.<sup>33</sup>

Foreign languages were to be learned by the ambassador, in spite of the fact that he necessarily possessed Latin which was in early times the common language of all Christian nations, and French which had succeeded Latin, being spoken, says Rousseau de Chamoy, "by most princes and ministers with whom ambassadors of France have to deal".<sup>34</sup> It is nevertheless a great advantage to know the idiom of the country where you are, and the people are grateful to you for the effort. The idea however that English should be one of the languages to be learned never occurred to any one, and it does not, to my knowledge, appear in any list drawn then, of those to be studied. Besides Italian, Latin, Spanish, French, German, Maggi's list includes Turkish, but not English. Even Callières's list, which is of 1716, omits English.<sup>35</sup>

As to the moral virtues of the ambassador the manuals of the period are no less exacting than as to his learning. Was not the ambassador a kind of lay priest, with a sacred task and moral duties to fulfill, of interest for the whole of mankind? The Ruler of the world must guide him; piety must therefore be one of his basic qualities: on this all manuals agree. Bernard du Rosier draws, in the fifteenth century, a list of twenty-six virtues with which this pacificator of quarrels must be endowed: he is expected to be "veracious, upright, modest, temperate, discreet, kindly, honest, sober, just", etc., etc.<sup>36</sup> Ermolo Barbaro, in the same century, wants him to have "hands and eyes as pure as those of the priest officiating at the altar. Let him remember that he can do nothing more meritorious for the Republic than to lead an innocent and holy life".<sup>37</sup> The same views in the following centuries: "The ambassador," says the friend of Ronsard, Bishop Pierre Danès, who had taught Greek at the Collège de France and represented the king at the Council of Trent, "must appear, in his private life, pious, just, and a friend of the common quiet".<sup>38</sup> Dolet wants him irreproachable in his morals even in countries where, immorality

<sup>33</sup> *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions* (the Hague, 1681), I. 168.

<sup>34</sup> *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur* (1697), ed. Delavaud, p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> "Il serait encore à souhaiter qu'ils apprissent les langues vivantes afin de n'être pas exposés à l'infidélité ou l'ignorance des interprètes et d'être délivrés de l'embarras de les introduire aux audiences des Princes et de leur faire part de secrets importants." His list includes German, Italian, Spanish, and Latin. *De la Manière de Négocier*, p. 98.

<sup>36</sup> *Ambaxiator, Brevilogus*, as above, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> *De Officio Legati*, as above, p. 70.

<sup>38</sup> *Conseils à un Ambassadeur* (1561), ed. Delavaud (1915), p. 11.

being widely practised, his conforming to the general custom would possibly be rather approved than blamed: "Virtutis studiosissimus habeatur"; avoiding however crabbedness: "summamque severitatem summa cum humanitate jungat".<sup>39</sup> Hotman's ambassador is to be above all an honest man, charitable to the poor, and trustworthy for all, "careful not to promise lightly, but religiously doing what he has once promised; for, of course, people are less offended by a refusal than by a perfidy". Bragaccia wants him to possess every virtue, and devotes a separate chapter in his huge treatise to each virtue, recommending moreover to his envoy to appeal, in his difficulties, "first to God, the source of all good".<sup>40</sup> Let him be virtuous, says Germonius, who however, as we shall see, condones lying, "for there is nothing more lovable than virtue, nothing that better wins men's love, so much so that we love, in a way, for their virtue and probity, even men whom we have never seen".<sup>41</sup>

An anonymous Frenchman, of about 1600, desires the ambassador to show himself "a great observer and defender of his religion, of justice, and of the common weal".<sup>42</sup> Louis XIV. had observers to tell him whether his ambassadors went to mass every day, and one of them, Barrillon, accredited to England, got a severe remonstrance because he did not, and because he had been seen talking with his neighbors during the service.<sup>43</sup> This however was no longer piety, but, in an age of pomp, gold lace, wigs, and feathers, a show thereof.

Drinking, which, as one of the manuals recalls, is described by Seneca as "a voluntary madness", is wrong and dangerous, but in some countries of central and northern Europe, indispensable; it is therefore regretfully allowed.

A fundamental virtue in an ambassador is punctuality. "The people of Troy sent their deputies to Tiberius, in order to offer him condolences on the death of his sons, seven or eight months after the event. 'And I,' said the emperor, 'deeply regret the loss you sustained of Hector your good and valorous compatriot.' At which all laughed for Hector had died several centuries before."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 17.

<sup>40</sup> *L'Ambasciatore* (Padua, 1626), bk. I., ch. 8, "Della Pieta e Religione verso Dio dell Ambasciatore"—"Diciamo adunque, ch'egli dovra prima ricorrere a Dio, fonte d'ogni bene, senza l'aiuto e consiglio del quale sono vani tutti gli humani sforzi e consigli."

<sup>41</sup> *De Legatis* (1627), p. 70.

<sup>42</sup> "Instruction Générale des Ambassadeurs", ed. Griselle, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* (1914), p. 773.

<sup>43</sup> Unprinted letter of Colbert de Croissy to Barrillon, April 13, 1686, Archives of the French foreign office, "Angleterre", CLVIII., fol. 209.

<sup>44</sup> Hotman, quoting Suetonius; *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 27.

The good ambassador will watch over his words, never deride the country he is in nor disparage the prince to whom he is accredited; he must not "blame the form of a popular government", much less will he venture any obloquy to the detriment of his own people: "Our country is our mother . . . we must be as jealous of her honor as of our own."<sup>45</sup>

Owing to the dangers accompanying certain missions, a temperament impervious to fear was held indispensable:

For which cause the Romans and other republics, well aware of the perilous character of legations, honored with a statue the memory of those who had died in fulfilling such missions. Hence the blunt reply of an Athenian ambassador to King Philip of Macedon who threatened him with having his head cut off: "If thou hast this head removed, my country will give me another which will be immortal, *statuam pro capite; pro morte immortalitatem*."

It is not everybody however that would enjoy the change, and more than one would prefer keeping his own.<sup>46</sup>

### III.

Among the moral questions relating to the ambassadorial profession, none was more passionately discussed, for centuries in succession, than that of whether an ambassador should swerve from the truth, when his country's good is at stake, that is, whether he should answer the definition of his calling humorously inscribed in the album of a German merchant at Augsburg, in 1604, by Sir Henry Wotton, when on his way to Venice as English ambassador: "Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicae causa", a joke which, brought to the notice of a king who could never understand one, James I., caused the envoy to fall into temporary disgrace.<sup>47</sup> Casuists, innumerable in those days, had a splendid field for the exercise of their ingenuity, and of their knowledge of precedents, classical authors, and the Bible.

For a few, there was no question: *Salus populi, suprema lex*; for fewer, there was no question: *Super omnia veritas*. Machiavelli can-

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>46</sup> Same page.

<sup>47</sup> Under the name of Oporinus Grubinius, one of his many aliases, the infamous blackmailer Gaspard Scioppius, a man of several religions and no faith, who alleged that Wotton had tried to have him assassinated in Milan, wrote a whole pamphlet on this incident, concluding that, so far as Wotton himself was concerned, the true definition was: "Legatus Calvinianus, maxime Anglicanus, est vir bonus, peregre missus ad mentiendum et latrocinandum Reipublicae suae causa." *Oporini Grubinii Legatus Latro, hoc est Definitio Legati Calviniani* (Ingolstadt, 1615).

not imagine that discussion be possible: when the country is at stake, the result only counts, and there is "no longer any question of just or unjust, merciful or cruel, praiseworthy or shameful".<sup>48</sup> For most, however, the question *has* to be discussed and, true casuists as they are, they first peremptorily state that an ambassador should never lie, for "lying is a mortal sin"; and then they add that, in certain circumstances, he must. They busy themselves thereupon to find the concord of this discord and their usual way consists, after having eloquently declared in favor of absolute truth, in adding a little *but* or a subtle *distinguo*.

Many save themselves by setting apart what they call officious lies, *officiosa mendacia*, by which they mean those caused by the function, *officii causa*:<sup>49</sup> a sufficient justification even for an ambassador answering Wotton's ironical definition.

Braun first rejects the officious lie, then admits it if no third party is to suffer. Tasso has also recourse to a *distinguo*.<sup>50</sup> Gentili writes a treatise *De Abusu Mendacii* which is rather one *De Usu*, so numerous are the cases when lies are justifiable, according to his count, on the part of physicians, poets, historians, theologians, and politicians; an admirer of Machiavelli he agrees with him: the saving of the country is the supreme law.<sup>51</sup> Paschalius declares decidedly against lying, adding however the usual *but*: "I want the ambassador to shine by truth, the best assured of virtues. . . . But I am not so boorishly exacting as to entirely close the lips of the envoy to officious lies."<sup>52</sup> For pompous, pedantic, retrograde Marselaer the ideal ambassador must be very noble by birth, very rich, and perfect at dissembling and lying; such is the rule of the game; it is necessary *cum vulpe vulpinari*.<sup>53</sup> Bacon's essay "On Truth" resembles that of Gentili, so much does it contain in favor of lies, a necessary alloy to the pure gold of truth: "A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure." Truth absolute is "the honor of man's nature", but it must be admitted that a "mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work better, but it embaseth it".<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> "Dove si delibera al tutto della salute della patria, non vi debbe cadere alcuna consideratione ne di giusto, ne d'ingiusto, ne di pietoso, ne di crudele, ne di laudabile, ne d'ingnominoso anzi proposto ogn'altro rispetto seguire al tutto quel partito che li salvi la vita et mantenghile la liberta." *Discorsi . . . sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio* (Venice, 1540).

<sup>49</sup> Scioppius, as above, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> "Ma io teco favellando, cosi distinguerò." *Il Messaggero*.

<sup>51</sup> Alberici Gentilis . . . *De Abusu Mendacii* (Hannover, 1599).

<sup>52</sup> *Legatus* (Paris, 1613), chap. LIV.; first ed. Rouen, 1598.

<sup>53</sup> *Frederici de Marselaer Equitis, Legatus* (Antwerp, 1626), p. 170; first ed., less complete, 1618.

<sup>54</sup> A late essay, first published in 1625.



Vera and Bragaccia surpass all as casuists. According to the latter, "Pythagoras being asked when men most resembled the gods, answered, 'when they speak truth'. And wisely to be sure, for there is nothing belonging so properly to God as truth."<sup>55</sup> He demonstrates, however, that "in case of urgency or for a good reason", one may consent not to be so very godlike; there are moreover many ways to speak the truth without revealing it, "for example when you include the lesser in the greater, as one would say, when having ten crowns, that he has two". It can scarcely be doubted that the officious lie, *bugia officiosa*, is a sin, but circumstances can attenuate the fault.

Vera is in no way inferior as a casuist. For him, "there is no end so honest that may cause a lie to be condoned, or may exempt the liar from mortal sin". True it is that the people of a different opinion allege that inventions and artifices are indispensable antidotes against "the venom of a powerful enemy", and are a means for transforming inequality into equality. They say also that "Nature, and God her maker, have endowed with ruse and shrewdness the animals which they have not armed with teeth and nails, so that the ones may compensate the others". But this is a false doctrine, based on pagan authors and misinterpreted Bible. "The ambassador must avoid this path, and beware of causing the plans of his king to develop along such a line."

We seem to be on firm ground, but we are not, for Vera now comes to the usual *distinguo*, and persuades himself that, "between those two extremes, that is to say to conduct business with downright falsehood or downright truthfulness, there can be found a midway which is the golden path of Horatius, and we shall move forth without falling into the abyss of evil, though swerving a little from the straight line of perfect purity".<sup>56</sup> Numerous examples follow, of people who, in old or recent times, acted thus and, according to Vera, deserved praise.

On dissembling, which is very near lying, Vera has no doubt, "Blamable in a private man, it is excusable in public business, since it is impossible to manage government affairs well if one is unable to dissemble and feign. This ability is acknowledged as the true attribute of kings, and it has been observed long ago that one who does not know how to feign is inapt to reign."

To the credit of Hotman, chief spokesman of the early French school of diplomacy, it must be said that, while referring to the Bible

<sup>55</sup> *L'Ambasciatore* (Padua, 1626), p. 430.

<sup>56</sup> *El Enbaxador* (Seville, 1620), fol. 87, 88, 99, 107, 111.

and admitting that there are cases when a falsehood is unavoidable, he feels, at the thought, pangs of regret, which is very much to his honor. "To act thus is hard," he says, "for a man of worth who does not care to wound his conscience in order to be considered clever; it is hard for a frank and generous soul who, in lying, strains his nature: and no wonder, since to lie and dissemble is an undoubted mark of a low-hearted and low-born individual." There is however a difference between delusive words used to harm, or used to help, as happened when Abraham and Isaac declared that their wives were their sisters, which they did in order to save the honor of these women. And remembering the time when he was himself employed abroad, Hotman adds from personal experience:

There was no choice but to disguise to the Swiss Leagues, to Germany, England, and the other Protestant states and princes the folly of the Saint-Bartholomew; and I know some of those who were thus employed who would have willingly passed on this duty to cleverer liars. But what? It was for the service of the king and to endeavor to shield our nation from a stain which however no water has been able to wash away since.<sup>57</sup>

The solution of the problem continued remote. Well within the seventeenth century appeared the characteristic work before mentioned, of Archbishop Germonius, whose authority in such matters was great; he being, at the same time, a prelate and an ambassador. After having demonstrated that "to lie is servile and cannot be tolerated even in a slave"; that "any lie is a sin"; that, according to Aristotle, "the penalty of the liar is that he will not be believed even when he speaks the truth", the learned author bravely goes on to show that there is nevertheless a good deal to say in favor of lying: "What is not permitted by natural reason, is by civil reason; else princes and republics would often be upset and perish. In the same way as, among the laws of old, the most famous is, *salus populi suprema lex esto*, for the same reason, to an ambassador, the safety of the republic must be the supreme law." Can we aspire to be wiser than the Greeks or the Romans? Asked by Neoptolemus whether it was shameful to lie, Ulysses answered: "Not at all if safety is to be the result."<sup>58</sup> Titus Livius praises Xenophanes "for having used the subterfuge of a lie". No one blames physicians because they cheer their patients with false hopes.

In war, continues the archbishop, who obviously would have been favorable to "camouflaged" *communiqués*, untrue news may be indispensable to keep up the morale of troops.

<sup>57</sup> *L'Ambassadeur* (1603), pp. 48, 49.

<sup>58</sup> He speaks so in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, to which Germonius refers.

How much greater and nobler, one may remonstrate, the peoples who need no such falsifications of the truth and whose force of resistance grows because they know that the peril is great and not because they fancy it to be small, the nations able to offer thanks even to a Varro for not having despaired of the Republic, or able to defend and save Verdun when the defense seemed hopeless. A "They shall not pass" from men of heart is worth any amount of sophisticated *communiqués*.

In defense of his system, Germonius appeals also to the Bible as being full of lies which "get there no condemnation, but praise"; a list follows of those of Abraham, "a man of worth, and very pleasing to God", and of others. Jacob's lie when securing for himself Esau's birthright was worse than one in words, being one in action, "unless we believe with Saint Augustine that we are not confronted with a lie, but with a mystery".<sup>59</sup> We may accept such an interpretation if we please, but cannot be prevented from remembering besides that we have each of us, within ourselves, a guide, also God-inspired, called conscience.

Corruption, the use of spies, a good deal of intriguing, were admitted as necessities. And then the question arose: Is an ambassador justified in wrong-doing if he is so ordered by his master? Is it permissible for him to interfere in local politics to the detriment of the local sovereign? Tasso bluntly answers: "If the prince orders something unjust", the envoy must try to open his eyes, and if he fails, must obey: "Egli altro non può fare, ch'essequir il comandamento del Prencipe." Vera thinks it is a pity, but decides in the same fashion, and saves the ambassadors possible doubts by some new sample of his ever ready casuistry: the envoy should discard all scruples, saying to himself that, after all, what he is aiming at is not primarily the destruction of the prince to whom he is accredited, but the salvation of his own:

And if it happened that the advantage procured by the ambassador to his master should result in damage to the other prince, it would be enough for the ambassador to have no load on his conscience, that his object and intention were only to protect his own prince against dangers threatening him; the more so that accidents cannot be prevented.<sup>60</sup>

But there were, even in those days, some men with a stricter conscience who would answer such questions with a no, the same Hotman foremost among them. The ambassador should, according to him, entirely abstain from intrigues hurtful to the country where he is:

<sup>59</sup> *De Legatis* (1627), bk. II., ch. VI.

<sup>60</sup> *El Embaxador* (1620), fol. 101.

What, however, if he is commanded to act otherwise? . . . Will he be allowed to excuse himself, to judge of the justice of his master's intentions and of the equity of his commands? Does it belong to him to penetrate the secret or control the will of his prince? Here the man of worth will once more find himself greatly embarrassed. . . . The solution of the problem seems to me to be the same as that adopted by philosophers, jurists, and theologians concerning the obedience due by the son to his father, the slave to his master, the subject to his prince, and the vassal to his liege lord: for all agree that this obedience does not cover what is of God, of nature, and of reason. Well, to lie, mislead, betray, to attempt a sovereign prince's life, to foster revolt among his subjects, to steal from him or trouble his state, even in peace-time and under cover of friendship and alliance, is directly against the command of God, against the law of nature and of nations; it is to break that public faith without which human society and, in truth, the general order of the world would dissolve. And the ambassador who seconds his master's views in such a business doubly sins, because he both helps him in the undertaking and performing of a bad deed, and neglects to counsel him better, when he is bound to do so by his function which carries with it the quality of councillor of state for the duration of his mission, even if he had not had the honor of being previously received as a councillor.<sup>61</sup>

With a number of fighting bishops along the Rhine ("Bishops' Street", the valley was familiarly called), with the omnipresent but often nebulous pretensions of an elective emperor and an elective pope, with an elective king in Poland, with innumerable princelings in Germany and Italy, accessible to many reasons with which reason had little to do, intrigue had an immense field. An infinity of tiny states had an infinity of petty ambitions, petty wars, petty pacifications; greater states played some of the smaller ones against the others, the more efficaciously that these diminutive countries could, according to the ideas of the time, be parcelled out, sold, given away, serve as the pledge for a loan or the portion of a princess, without the inhabitants being any more consulted than their own cattle. The fate of flocks of men and of a number of countries had been changed by such marriages as that of Eleanora of Aquitania to the future Henry II. Plantagenet, or Mary of Burgundy, only daughter of Charles the Bold, to Maximilian, the future emperor. Cardinal Wolsey had however found means to make sure of preserving an even mind in the quarrels between Francis I. and Charles V. by accepting pensions from both.

In the hope of winning the help of a nation in a great war, pensions were offered to her ministers, sometimes to her king, rich jewels to the mistress of the king, and the whole court would be in ecstasies as to the good taste and generosity of the sender. The ministers

<sup>61</sup> *L'Ambassadeur* (1603), p. 84.

would not only accept but occasionally insist on an increase, for having so well betrayed their country. "Money," says Hotman, "opens the most secret cabinets of princes." Rousseau de Chamoy recommends that "gratifications" be adroitly offered to the foreign commissioners with whom the ambassador has to negotiate a treaty, but deplores that the French neglect too much this means of success.<sup>62</sup>

Presents were constantly on the move, between monarchs, ministers, ambassadors, members of public assemblies, etc., and it was no easy matter to discern where courtesy stopped and corruption began. Venice, as we have seen, solved the problem by obliging her ambassadors to hand to the public treasury the gifts received by them in foreign countries. Parsimonious Bishop Danès advises ambassadors to provision themselves, before starting, with "objects of small value, but rare and therefore greatly esteemed where they go"; and we know that Regnault Girard, sent to Scotland in 1434 to fetch Princess Margaret, the betrothed of the future king of France, Louis XI., had brought as presents "a gentle mule", considered "a very strange beast, because they have none there, six barrels of wine and three of chestnuts, pears, and apples, for there is little fruit in Scotland".<sup>63</sup> But you could not win thus the good will of a royal mistress, and the presents sent by Louis XIV. to a Duchess of Cleveland or a Duchess of Portsmouth were not of so homely a nature; the ladies themselves were not of a homely nature.

The question was again one in which casuists could give free play to their *distinguos*. Vera and others are thus able to both exclude and admit presents.<sup>64</sup> Most manuals however specify that no ambassador should consent to receive any except with the assent of his prince, or when he leaves the country: "An effect of his abstemiousness," says Hotman, "will be his refusal to accept any gifts or presents, either from the prince to whom he is sent or from any of his people for any cause whatsoever, unless, having already taken leave, he is about to mount his horse." Many princes regretfully spent large sums at those partings but considered it a kind, as is now said,

<sup>62</sup> *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur* (1697), ed. Delavaud, pp. 36, 40. I note with pleasure in the excellent article of Professor Nys, of Belgium, written in 1883, the remark: "On doit cependant dire à l'honneur des hommes d'état français qu'ils ne se laissaient point acheter et demeuraient incorruptibles." "Les Commencements de la Diplomatie", in *Revue de Droit International*, XVI. 67.

<sup>63</sup> The mission, at that date, was a very dangerous one, and Girard, to the indignation of his king, had offered 400 crowns to any who would go in his stead. *Romance of a King's Life* (1896), pp. 62, 66.

<sup>64</sup> *El Enbaxador*, fol. 129, 131.

of "propaganda", useful for their good fame and glory.<sup>65</sup> "The custom is," says Rousseau de Chamoy, "that, on such occasions, the prince give, as a present to the ambassador, his portrait set in diamonds or some similar object, and that he cause to be sent to his secretary a golden chain with his medal or something else."<sup>66</sup> This use was so well established that when the American republic was founded it was considered indispensable to submit to it, and George Washington bestowed on foreign envoys as they left the country a golden chain with a medal, choosing however to send to the French representative a heavier one than to the others. To that extent at any rate did the great man practise secret diplomacy.

Portraits continue to be given in our days, but consisting in signed photographs, a great improvement and leaving no room for casuistry; they are accompanied however in most countries with a decoration, a more debatable practice.

#### IV.

Endowed, as much as nature and study would allow, with so many accomplishments, political, moral, or literary, having bought expensive carriages, liveries, and plate, secured, as best he could, trustworthy secretaries and "chiffreurs"<sup>67</sup> and very numerous servants, selected, some for their "taciturnity" and others for their ability to play the part of semi-spies, but of otherwise good morals,<sup>68</sup> the ambassador would enter his coach or mount his horse (Eustache Deschamps complains that his "sits on its knees", out of fatigue, on the long road from Paris to Prague) and start on his mission.

The manuals keep their eyes on him and flood him with advice. How should he behave when he arrives? Whom should he see first? Ought ladies to be the object of his attention? Yes, says Pecquet, provided he does not fall in love with them. What should be his table, his expenses, the style and subject of his despatches, the ceremonial and rules of precedence he should observe? Must he be secretive? Yes, the wiser manuals answer on this last point, but

<sup>65</sup> Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 35.

<sup>66</sup> *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur* (1697), ed. Delavaud, p. 43.

<sup>67</sup> "Ea illi committenda sunt quae literis ignotis (chifftrum vulgus Gallicum vocat) significari res ipsa postulat." Dolet, *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 14.

<sup>68</sup> "Porro autem ex servis unum aliquem cautum atque versipellem Legatus habeat qui per urbem vagando et in multorum tum sermonem, tum familiaritatem se insinuando, omnes rumorum ventos colligat." *Ibid.*, p. 15. The ambassador will watch over their morals, for maybe he will be judged in accordance with them: "Sciendum est tale fere fieri de moribus nostris iudicium, qualis est servorum nostrorum vita." *Ibid.*, p. 13.



within due limits. They do not back Ben Jonson's advice to Politick Would-bes:

First for your garb, it must be grave and serious,  
Very reserv'd and lock'd; not tell a secret  
On any terms, not to your father, scarce  
A fable, but with caution.<sup>69</sup>

The question of precedence, being of immense importance in those days, gets of course ample attention.<sup>70</sup> For questions of precedence, which were supposed to imply the rank and dignity of their country, people would risk their lives and sometimes lose them, the rivalry as is well known being especially keen between France and Spain. The "most Christian" kings of France, anointed with the miraculous oil at Rheims, considered themselves as without a p  er. Their right had been recognized at the meeting of more than one council, that of Constance among others in 1434. "And not without cause," wrote Claude de Seissel in 1558, "did the king of the Romans, Maximilian, playfully say more than once that if he were God and had several children, he would make the eldest God after him, but the second he would make him king of France."<sup>71</sup> The quarrel nevertheless continued more and more fierce, until the terrible d'Estrades incident occurred, when for a question of precedence between two ambassadorial carriages several people remained dead on the London pavement, a general war was with difficulty averted, and the "Catholic King" had to definitively admit the pretension of his "most Christian" but very unyielding brother, young Louis XIV.<sup>72</sup>

The ambassador must be liberal in his expenses, but not extravagant; certain envoys have so behaved that it seemed as though they wanted to outshine the greatest of the land where they lived; they have thus displeased the very people they wanted to conciliate. A sense of measure is an important item in the art of diplomacy, and

<sup>69</sup> *Volpone*, IV. i; dedication dated 1607. De la Sarraz du Franquesnay writes on this subject: "Les gens du monde regardent cet air mist  rieux des ministres, soit naturel, soit affect  , comme un caract  re de p  danterie; ce dehors magistral les blesse; il leur semble que ceux qui l'ont viennent donner le  on au public." *Le Ministre Public dans les Cours   trang  res* (1731), p. 171.

<sup>70</sup> For instance in Wicquefort, *M  moire touchant les Ambassadeurs* (Cologne, 1679), II. 48 ff. "Il faut aussi parler de la pr  s  ance," says Hotman, "o   il y a mille belles choses    dire, qui sont pour un discours    part." *L'Ambassadeur*, pp. 72 ff.

<sup>71</sup> *Histoire Singuli  re du Roy Loys XII.* (Paris, 1558), fol. 69.

<sup>72</sup> Year 1661. Not long after, however, in 1697, Rousseau de Chamoy saw a sign of narrow-mindedness in paying too much attention to questions of ceremonial: "Sur cela comme sur toute autre chose il   vitera d'  tre pointilleux et homme    incidents; c'est la marque d'un petit esprit d'  tre remply et vivement touch   de ces sortes de choses." *L'Id  e du Parfait Ambassadeur*, p. 29.

is of value whatever the occasion. For selecting the chief objects of expense, account must be taken of local tastes: "The expenditure of the house must be well regulated, yet splendid in every respect, chiefly for the table and cooking, to which foreigners, especially those of the North, pay more attention than to any other item. In Spain and Italy the table is frugal; but one must shine there in the matter of horses, carriages, garments, and followers."<sup>73</sup>

Now for the ambassador's actual functions, his *raison d'être*. They are, as we have seen, of the highest a man can be honored with. Whatever the circumstances and the temptations, he should never forget what the paramount duty of an ambassador consists in, which is to "zealously act in such fashion that he be rather the maker of peace and concord than of discord and of war."<sup>74</sup> His task will be comparatively easy if he is personally trustworthy and if he represents a nation which also can be trusted: hence the constant recommendations to keep promises; one of the elements of Louis XIV.'s power in Europe was that, with all which now appears to us as blemishes on his politics, he kept his promises more faithfully than any monarch of his time.

The untrustworthiness of many envoys, whose word was empty and promises meant nothing, whose conscience was as pliable as casuists would have it, and whose very presence was a danger for the state, had retarded, in the fifteenth century, the progress of the institution. Several kings, among them Henry VII. of England, were averse to receiving any. Philippe de Commynes the historian, who had himself been an ambassador (*e.g.*, to Lorenzo de' Medici), has strong words on the subject: "'Tis not too safe a thing, those constant goings and comings of embassies, for very often bad things are treated of by them; yet the sending and receiving of them cannot be avoided." What is the remedy? some will ask; others might give a better answer,

As for me, this I would do. Ambassadors who come from true friends and not to be suspected, I deem that they should be well treated and be granted permission to see the prince pretty often, taking however into account what the prince himself actually is; I mean if he be wise and honest; for when he is otherwise, the least shown the better. And when he is shown, let him be well dressed and well informed of what he ought to say, and let him not stay long. [If, on the other hand, ambassadors come from princes filled with a perpetual hatred,] as I have seen it among those many of whom I have spoken before, there is, I think, no safety in their coming. They must however be well and honor-

<sup>73</sup> Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 22.

<sup>74</sup> "Videat praeterea sedulo ut pacis concordiaeque potius auctor sit quam belli et discordiae." Dolet, *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 20.

ably treated; they should be met on their arrival, comfortably lodged, and safe and sensible people should be ordered to accompany them; which is both safe and honest, for thus one knows who is about them, and light-headed and discontented men are prevented from giving them news, for in no house is everybody content.

They must be well feasted, offered presents, promptly heard, and sent back, "for it is a very bad thing to keep one's enemies in one's house". In the meantime a continuous watch ought to be kept, night and day, to know whom they see. "And for one messenger or ambassador that would be sent to me I would send two. . . . Some will say that your enemy will take pride on it. I do not care, for thus I shall get more news of him."<sup>75</sup>

The ambassador knows from his instructions what he has to do, and if he has followed the wise advice to men of his calling, given in 1436 by Archbishop Bernard du Rosier, he must have verified, before leaving, that they were perfectly clear and straightforward, whether expressed verbally or in writing.<sup>76</sup> Being moreover an ambassador, and present on the spot, powers of appreciation are left him; he may have lights that his sender had not, and he must, under his responsibility, follow them; which is just as true today as in the past centuries, and which I, for one, had to put more than once into practice during the Great War. Danès,<sup>77</sup> Montaigne, Tasso,<sup>78</sup> Hotman, Wicquefort, Rousseau, all agree. "It should be noted," says Montaigne, who wrote no treatise about ambassadors, but who, interested in all kinds of men and things, has a variety of observations to make about them:

<sup>75</sup> *Mémoires*, bk. III, ch. VIII. The sending of several ambassadors together became exceptional after the custom was established of having permanent embassies. The several ambassadors forming one single mission rarely agreed on all points; rivalries and quarrels arose, and it was thought better to send only one man professionally prepared to assume alone the complex task, "except however", Callières says, "when the question is of a peace conference"; no single man could then suffice. *De la Manière de Négociier*, p. 378.

<sup>76</sup> "Caveant tamen ambaxiatores, ne instrucciones acephalas, ambiguas, vel dupplicitatem continentes verbo vel scriptis a mittentibus suscipiant." *Ambaxiator, Brevilogus*, as above, ch. X.

<sup>77</sup> "Son maistre lui peut bien prescrire en gros ce qui est de son instruction pour son service, mais il ne peut lui bailler ni la direction ni l'industrie pour la conduite des accidens inopinés et casuels: ainsi le jugement et la vigilance sont deux parties bien requises à celui qui est constitué en cette charge." *Conseils à un Ambassadeur* (1561), ed. Delavaud, p. 13.

<sup>78</sup> "E se l'Ambasciatore altro no fosse che semplice relatore delle cose commendatelo, non havrebbe bisongno nè di prudenza, nè d'eloquenza, e ciascun' huomo ordinario in quest' ufficio sarebbe atto: ma noi veggiamo che i Principi con diligente investigazione fanno scieltà de gli ambasciatori." *Il Messaggero*.

It should be noted that unswerving obedience fits only with precise and peremptory commands. Ambassadors have somewhat freer duties the fulfilling of which, in several respects, entirely depends on their own dispositions. They do not simply execute, but form also and direct by their own advice the will of their masters. I have seen in my day people in authority blamed for having rather obeyed the words in the king's letters than the dictates of the affairs in the midst of which they themselves were.

Hotman, shortly after, wrote

that a number of things must be left to the discretion of a prudent ambassador without thus tying his tongue and hands. *Mitte sapientem, nihil dicito*. But when he has played the part of a man of worth, 'tis ill done to repay him with a disavowal; and such princes do not deserve to be served by people of worth, especially when these have done for the best. Industry and diligence are of ourselves; a successful issue is of heaven.<sup>79</sup>

The same views in Rousseau de Chamoy a century later:

As he is bound to know the interests of his master, he may and must make up his mind (without waiting for instructions) in accordance with events, and those are the occasions when the clever and true negotiator distinguishes himself from the common man and the ordinary minister of no parts.<sup>80</sup>

In negotiating the ambassador will be careful not to be brusque, haughty, arrogant:

Prudence demands [said, in early days, Bishop Danès,] that he listen with gentleness and modesty to the reasons of others, without being enamored of his own nor too absolute in his opinion. When one has to contradict somebody else's advice in a conference, be the cause one sustains ever so good and well justified, the words must be tempered in such a way that none may remain offended at the opposition, but that everybody, on the contrary, may notice the respect felt by the contradictor for the company. One must yield sometimes out of complaisance, and then avail himself of the next colloquy to amicably bring back the others to the cause of justice.<sup>81</sup>

Having to keep his government well informed, the ambassador will neglect no opportunity in order to be himself aware of what goes on, and since nothing in the world stands quite apart, and everything has ramifications everywhere, he must be able to establish comparisons. Early written books advised him to keep up therefore a constant correspondence with the other ambassadors of his country in different lands, having if need be a special code to exchange confidential views with them. He must also take care to keep well posted on what happens or threatens to happen in his own country, counting for this, less on the secretary of state, often very remiss in that respect, than on some friends or even on paid informers, "not grudging two

<sup>79</sup> *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 57.

<sup>80</sup> *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur* (1697), ed. Delavaud, p. 26.

<sup>81</sup> *Conseils*; as above, p. 13.

or three hundred crowns for this, if need be". He will thus be able to counteract enemy propaganda (the thing, not the word, being in use at an early date), especially hurtful to his own country in war time.<sup>82</sup>

If he uses spies, as was then the custom, he is to be very much on his guard. In order to get pay, rascally fellows will bring him thrilling news in abundance, even when there is no news; being moreover men of no conscience they will never hesitate to betray one paymaster to the advantage of another and to their own profit. No account should therefore be taken of their statements, unless it be possible to control them.

The importance of being well informed is such that Rousseau de Chamoy goes the length, alone then of his kind, of recommending the ambassador to read, would you believe it? "the gazettes". The news they give is, to be sure, abundantly false, but it may chance that some be true, though rather difficult to distinguish from the imaginary; nothing however should be neglected; false news has moreover its advantage, in "evidencing the spirit of partiality in the place where it is devised".<sup>83</sup>

But above all the ambassador must study the country where he is, and do so personally, see people of all ranks, talk with them, understand the trend of opinion and discover the various forces at play there. The task is not so easy for French ambassadors abroad as for foreign ambassadors in France: "Everything, in France, is bared to the curiosity of foreigners, partly owing to the natural freedom with which we speak of every subject, partly because of the factions in the state and the divisions in religious matters which have torn France for the last forty years."<sup>84</sup> This was written in 1603.

The ambassador's despatches will convey to his government all the information he can gather. Must he also send data which are

<sup>82</sup> "Et d'autant que les secrétaires d'Estat ne font si fréquentes despesche à l'ambassadeur et ne luy donnent toujours advis de ce qui se passe en la Cour et en l'Estat si souvent comme il le voudroit bien et qu'il seroit parfois expédient qu'il en eust la cognoissance pour les faux bruits que sèment ordinairement les ennemis d'un Estat, mesmement en temps de guerre. . . il sera fort bien d'avoir quelque amy en court qui l'avertisse souvent de ce qui se fait, voire jusques aux moindres particularitez par lesquelles il peut quelquefois faire jugement des choses d'importance. La peine où j'ay veu en Suisse Monsieur de Sillery Brulart et en Angleterre Monsieur de Beauvoir la Nocle . . . me fait donner cet advis à ceux qui vont en Légation, et qu'ils n'y doivent espargner deux ny trois cens escus par an si besoin est." Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 24.

<sup>83</sup> *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur*, p. 35.

<sup>84</sup> Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 66.

sure to displease and irritate his own prince, playing the unwelcome part of the carrier of bad news? Without doubt he must, sternly answers Bishop Danès:

Hold it as a maxim that displeasing things must be sent as well as pleasing ones, and the prince, in the end, if he is a man of wisdom and understanding, will be better satisfied with the ambassador who will not have concealed from him any item he may have learnt where he is stationed, than with the one who, to spare him annoyance, will have abstained from writing unpleasant things (*des choses facheuses*), but which it would have been of interest for him to know in time.<sup>85</sup>

Hotman agrees, adding one proviso, however, that is: except when the conveying of such information can only cause useless irritation and diminish the chances of that good understanding between nations, which is, as we have seen, the chief object of diplomacy. If however any untoward incident has been public the ambassador has no choice:

The matter would be different if, in full council of the prince, or in the pulpit by preachers, or on the stage by comedians,<sup>86</sup> or by writings or lampoons, the ambassador saw his master's honor defamed, for then he must send the information at once and crave justice and reparation from those who owe it, using however moderation not to make the harm greater than it is, for the case is similar to that of ladies who often by over-defending their honor render it more suspected and doubtful.

The lady, Shakespeare thought, should not protest too much.

Doubts as to the sending of the whole truth scarcely exist at all nowadays, especially in democratic countries, but still linger in some others. A change of foreign minister having happened in an imperial country some years ago, I was asked by that country's ambassador for information as to the new man, who happened to be unknown to him but well known to me. I made, in general terms, a polite answer. "But that is not what I want," the other said, "Is he a man to speak the truth to the Emperor?" The only answer I could conscientiously return was, "Yes, if it is agreeable."

The ambassador, according to the manuals, will avoid giving room in his letters to trifling incidents, piquant as they may be, to news of the amours of the court ladies, to the quarrels of their admirers, and similar subjects, though in great demand on the part of certain princes and their fair friends "who want to know every-

<sup>85</sup> *Conseils à un Ambassadeur* (1561), p. 15.

<sup>86</sup> The Chapman incident, with the intervention of the French ambassador La Boderie and the sending to jail of the players for an objectionable passage in *The Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron*, is an exactly contemporary example of such a case, the play having been performed in 1602 or 1603, when the chief personages, including the King of France, Henry IV., were still alive. See *Modern Language Review*, IV. 158, and VI. 203.

thing". The best, if he can not avoid writing on these "frivolous topics, just fit to amuse idle persons", is to treat of them in "separate letters which, since they would not deal with what is the business of the office, would not have to be submitted to the council and read there". This advice was followed later by the ambassadors to England of Louis XIV., who, though no "idle person", greatly relished full accounts of what was going on, in the way of loves and scandals, at the court of his royal brother the merry monarch Charles II. Separate sheets added to the official correspondence, and of which many remain in our foreign archives, kept him informed.

In his style the envoy will imitate good models, who differ according to the periods and countries: French, Italian, or Spanish, d'Ossat, du Perron, Mazarin, Bellièvre, d'Estrades, the Spaniard Saavedra, the texts collected by Vittorio Siri, and, for a wonder, one Englishman, but at a late date, and in a translation, "le Chevalier Temple".<sup>87</sup>

The despatches will be "grave, brief, compressed, containing much in a few words, drawn in terms rather plain than far-fetched, seasoned but only seldom with traits and maxims. For the better intelligence of the facts, it would be appropriate that each question be dealt with in a separate letter, according to the example of Monsieur de Villeroi". The report might else seem "grotesque", that is to say like the artificial grottoes so much the fashion in those days, "a patchwork made of different pieces".<sup>88</sup>

Thus admonished, garnering information, remembering precedents, studying the approved models of the art, looking splendid in their silks, laces, and embroideries, assisted by the renown of their cook in the North and of their horses in the South, now obeying, now guiding circumstances, and displaying talents sometimes of the highest order, ambassadors worked for two centuries at the establishment in Europe of the system which gradually replaced the family of Christian nations, namely that of the, not yet so called, balance of power. The first had for its basis a hard-to-realize brotherly love; the second, more practical, was grounded on safety. The moment one power, be it the house of Austria, the house of France, or that of Spain, became so strong that it might dominate all the others if it chose, these others, by instinct or treaty, united together for the preservation of equilibrium. The establishment and maintenance of this order of things, which rendered great service, and which though much abused and

<sup>87</sup> Pecquet, *Discours sur l'Art de Négociier* (1737), p. xlviii. He had in mind the *Lettres de M. le Chevalier Temple et autres Ministres d'État* (the Hague, 1700, 2 vols.; several editions).

<sup>88</sup> Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur* (1603), p. 71.



held antiquated is not yet dead, gave occasion to innumerable negotiations and treaties in which envoys could show whether they answered the requirements of the manuals. They have a right to be judged by the outcome, and it is a fact that some of the treaties negotiated by them, those of Westphalia or of Utrecht for example, count among the great events in the history of mankind.

## V.

Important results and a wider practice having permitted the guiding principles of the profession to be better tested, manuals appeared in the eighteenth century in which former-day advice was filtered, exaggerations were pruned off, and new pictures were drawn of what a modern ambassador should be. The best of those portraits are so carefully devised as to be worthy of attention even now and doubtless in after time. The most characteristic trait in them is increasing austerity.

Visible already in Rousseau de Chamoy, 1697, the change is much more striking in such manuals as those of Callières, a member of the French Academy and a former ambassador, 1716, and Pecquet, a clerk in the French foreign office, 1737, especially the latter, by far the best. Without neglecting the gifts of the mind necessary for an ambassador, these two writers give an unwonted place to the qualities of his heart: we are moving further and further away from Machiavelli. "It is not enough," according to Callières, "in order to make a good negotiator, that he have all the dexterity and the other fine gifts of the intellect; it is necessary for him to possess also those resulting from the sentiments of the heart; there exists no function needing more elevation and nobility in conduct." One who enters this profession without disinterestedness and who wants "to promote other interests than those consisting in the glory of having succeeded . . . is sure to play in it the part of a very mediocre individual and if any important negotiation happens to succeed in his hands the result should be attributed only to some happy chance that cleared for him all difficulties". Pomp, gold lace, embroideries, great wealth, ancient lineage, are but secondary matters: "There are temporary embassies for mere ostentation, for the fulfilling of which nothing is needed but a great name and much wealth, like those for the ceremony of a marriage or a baptism. . . . But when affairs have to be negotiated, a man is needed, not an idol."<sup>89</sup>

<sup>89</sup> *De la Manière de Négocier avec les Souverains . . . par Monsieur de Callières . . . cy-devant Ambassadeur . . . du feu Roy pour les Traitez de Paix conclus à Riswick, et l'un des Quarante de l'Académie Française* (Paris, 1716),

Callières's ambassador must have travelled abroad and studied foreign nations, "but not in the fashion of our young men who, on leaving the academy or the college, go to Rome to see fine palaces, gardens, and the remains of some ancient buildings, or to Venice to see the opera and the courtesans; they ought to travel when a little older and better able to meditate and to study the form of government of each country".

Agreeing with his predecessors, Callières wants the envoy's learning to be considerable, on condition however that he be not crushed by it, or make of it his chief occupation. It is appropriate that "negotiators should have a general knowledge of the sciences sufficient to enlighten their understanding, but they must possess it and not be possessed by it, that is to say that they must not make more of the sciences than they are worth for their profession, but see in them only a means to become wiser and cleverer; abstaining from pride and from showing scorn for those less well informed". They should moreover not give too much time to those studies. "A man who has entered public employ must consider that his duty is to act and not to remain too long closeted in his study; his chief work must be to learn what goes on among the living rather than what went on among the dead."<sup>90</sup>

In the way of austerity Pecquet<sup>91</sup> is stricter than all. The aims of true diplomacy are so high, the responsibilities so great, that such a calling has a sacred character; for him, more even than for the mentors of early days, it is a kind of apostleship, and in the same way as for other sacred vocations, a severe mental and especially moral training, to be begun in boyhood, is indispensable. Fathers of families are guilty in not understanding these truths and in abstaining from a timely preparation of their sons for such a service. The result is that the French do not succeed in it as they should:

Though desirous of avoiding a partiality which every writer should eschew, it is certain that our nation produces a large number of bright minds who join to attractive parts great sagacity; but these natural talents are obscured by faults born of inapplication or are devoted to objects entirely foreign to the profession of the negotiator. I do not speak thus out of an undue predilection for a profession which, I confess, is dear to me, I only speak as a citizen. I have always considered

pp. 35, 75; other editions same year, Brussels and Amsterdam; another, "augmentée", London, 1750. An English translation was published in London, 1716: *The Art of Negotiating with Sovereign Princes*. By the same, *e. g.*, *De la Science du Monde et des Connoissances Utiles à la Conduite de la Vie* (Brussels, 1717).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 99.

<sup>91</sup> *Discours sur l'Art de Négociier* (Paris, 1737), dedicated to the king.

it shameful and hurtful for my country that the lack of preparation and an unjust prejudice on the part of fathers of family leave us inferior in this to other nations who give us very different examples.

Think how important is such a calling "which prepares those great events whose *éclat* strikes the eye", war, peace, conciliation, alliances. "The fate of his country is in the hands of the negotiator"; his functions are of the most difficult, for "all in them is, so to say, conjectural", and requires deeper thought than "matters offering fixed and demonstrated points".

Just therefore as for the Church, the prentice ambassador, "if he is to become superior, should be prepared from childhood for those important functions. His studies, his amusements too, must have no other object; he must ceaselessly labor to form his judgment, accustom himself early to get clear ideas on every matter, and to fill his mind with principles capable of guiding him as infallibly as possible in every juncture". He thus should, when studying history, even modern history which will be the chief subject of his attention and offers so many burning problems, try to remain impartial: "Since every country has taken part in public events, it is only too usual, while reading, to favorably judge one's own nation and feel a passion for her to the detriment of the others." From such prejudices may flow "consequences of no small importance".<sup>92</sup> It is never an advantage, when walking, to be blindfolded.

Former writers had drawn up, as we have seen, interminable lists of the accomplishments necessary for an ambassador. Pecquet, without forgetting the study of foreign languages, in spite of "ours having become in a way that of all Europe",<sup>93</sup> offers to ambassadors a no less impressive list of the moral qualities indispensable to any worthy member of this, in his eyes, quasi-holy profession. The ambassador he approves of is fair and moderate in his judgments, avoids vain fits of enthusiasm or hatred, is careful not to "confuse nervousness (*inquiétude d'esprit*) with activity", is patient and plucky, never feels disheartened.

While neglecting nothing of what may secure the success of an undertaking, all the obstacles should be considered coolly, a firm stand being taken against those sometimes encountered at every step. The ambassador must never be discouraged, but feel satisfied when he has done all that accords with humanity, and, above all, keep no ill humor nor prejudice against the people who put obstacles in his path; they do nothing else, in many cases, than what we should have done if we had been in their place.

<sup>92</sup> *Discours*, pp. xix, xxiii, xxxi, xxxiv, xli.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

Personal modesty should be practised,

Being not incompatible with the dignity attached to the representative character of the ambassador; without this, it is hard to please men. All the moments in the life of an envoy do not require that he be hampered by his professional character; he would become a burden to himself and to the others. . . . The honors accorded to the representative character are easily mistaken by the one who enjoys them as a personal homage. . . . The fault is frequent with beginners; they fancy they have become new men; they consider themselves as actual princes, they exact everything, and think they are dispensed from everything, the language soon accords with the attitude, and the name of dignity is given to what is nothing but pride and self-sufficiency.<sup>94</sup>

Disinterestedness is of the highest importance; not only presents will always be refused, even when allowed by custom and by one's government, but no ambition of wealth or profit of any sort can be tolerated in an ambassador, except that of properly serving his country. Let all those who entertain other desires besides, look elsewhere; in "a profession so important", those desires are the sign of a great risk that should be avoided at all cost, the risk of a "corruption of the heart". This exclusion is applied even to rewards from one's own country, which may come or not, the thing is of no importance; one should never work in view of them:

It is good to be able to say to one's self that, with a pure heart and innocent hands, one deserved to be well treated. It is in itself a recompense, to be worthy of one. Let us moreover agree that every man owes himself to the service of his country without having any title to exact rewards. We are born in a country and partake in her glory, splendor, and safety; we owe to her the goods and fortune inherited from our fathers; we therefore owe a service to her of one sort or another. . . . If men were well penetrated with these principles they would take the habit of not serving their mother country as mercenaries.<sup>95</sup>

Military service for all, with no pay, as established later in France, is in essence in these remarks.

The tendency was decidedly toward austerity. The ambassador is to be the more exacting toward himself that he is so much in view and so many people have an interest in finding out his faults and foibles and taking advantage of them against him. Even when he has no choice and must needs follow custom he should not be the dupe of it. He will have a sumptuous establishment, "and yield to this folly since

<sup>94</sup> Same idea in Callières: "Ces négociateurs novices s'enivrent d'ordinaire des honneurs qu'on rend en leur personne à la dignité des maîtres qu'ils représentent, semblables à cet âne de la fable qui recevait pour lui tout l'encens qu'on brûlait devant la statue de la déesse qu'il portait." *De la Manière de Négocier* (1716), p. 7.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 16, 20, 25.

the opinion of men has made it a consequence of his representative character"; but he will remember that it is a folly. He will become acquainted with all sorts of people, especially in republican states where the sovereignty belongs to all, but be careful to keep absolutely aloof from internal politics and avoid taking sides with one party or another, especially, again, in republican states. "This care to seek out everybody, this kind of popularity, must not be accompanied by anything that might lead people to suppose that the envoy is endeavoring to enter into the detail of domestic affairs, which he should not, or profit of the multiplicity of the members composing the sovereignty, to sow division among them." He would become at once suspected. "The republican spirit, or spirit of liberty, which liberty, to be solid, must rest on internal union, ever leads all the other affections to this rallying point." The envoy who forgets those truths becomes useless to his government in the country where he is and in all others.<sup>96</sup>

There may be cases, to be sure, when the right course will be difficult to discern. The heart then will decide: "The heart it is that causes us to make a good or a bad use of the qualities of the mind."

Needless to say that on all questions of sincerity and truthfulness, Pecquet is absolutely positive. No casuistry with him, no room for "Faux-Semblant". Not in vain had Pascal in his *Provinciales* passed sentence on easy-going casuistry, nor Molière said by the mouth of Alceste:

Je veux qu'on soit sincère et qu'en homme d'honneur  
On ne lâche aucun mot qui ne parte du coeur.

At that date the cause of truth had been won; Rousseau de Chamoy, in 1697, had been equally positive there was "no quality more important for an ambassador than probity."<sup>97</sup> Bayle in his great *Dictionnaire Historique* has nothing but scorn for dissembling ambassadors;<sup>98</sup> De la Sarraz du Franquesnay, Lescalopier de Nourar, at a later date, fully agree. "We must recognize," says the first, "that, generally speaking, bad faith is destructive of society . . . cunning and guile are of no avail to those who use them."<sup>99</sup> "Cun-

<sup>96</sup> Callières, pp. 120 ff.

<sup>97</sup> *Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur*, p. 22.

<sup>98</sup> And, an aggressive skeptic, he generalizes against them: "Agir selon la doctrine des équivoques, c'est le métier des ambassadeurs; c'est pour eux principalement qu'elle aurait dû être inventée;" *sub verbo* Bellai (Guillaume du). Cf. La Bruyère's sarcastic portrait of the "chameleon plenipotentiary". *Caractères*, ed. Lacour, II. 74.

<sup>99</sup> *Le Ministre Public dans les Cours Étrangères* (Amsterdam, 1731), p. 171.

ning," says the second (an optimist it is true, according to whom the "detention of a king or an attempt on his sacred person had become impossibilities"; and he was writing in 1763), "has been banished from politics."<sup>100</sup>

The ambassador, according to Pecquet, will offer in his despatches nothing but unalloyed truth, and the desire to please his master will never induce him to color it falsely:

The most essential care of the envoy should be exactitude in the facts he reports; he must neither weaken them nor change their hue, but distinctly state which are in his eyes certain, and which doubtful. . . . He must not flatter his master by his selection of the facts he narrates or by his way of narrating them. The object of his mission is not to lead his chief astray but to enlighten him.

The judgments of certain men are biassed by personal considerations; nothing can be worse in an ambassador:

It often happens that an envoy who does not believe himself well enough treated or enough considered in a court, poisons the simplest things. In other cases, if he sees that a disposition to a good understanding does not subsist between the prince he serves and the one to whom he is accredited, he thinks he pays his court to the former by embittering everything and giving violent advice. [The duty of a negotiator is] to make a complete abstraction of his own person.<sup>101</sup>

The use of spies is utterly contemptible. The envoy should have recourse, for information, not to traitors, but, what is a little more difficult, to his own brains. "The other means, consisting in keeping paid spies and corrupting men in a position to know, cannot be considered praiseworthy or honorable. Most people, as is well known, have no scruples in using this means and they hope that their master will consider it a merit in them." Their merit however is nil, gold does all. "One would perhaps risk being stoned, in the political world, if one wanted to positively forbid all recourse to such sources of information, but at least let the use thereof be restricted to occasions when every other means fails." There is little to choose between the scorn due to the seduced and that due to the seducer. Add moreover, from the practical point of view, that there is never any safety in using a traitor.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Le Ministère du Négociateur* (Amsterdam, 1763), p. 299.

<sup>101</sup> Pp. 95, 96. Pascal in his *Pensées* had already denounced the lack of courage of those who acted otherwise: "Dire la vérité est utile à celui à qui on la dit, mais désavantageux à ceux qui la disent parce qu'ils se font haïr. Or ceux qui vivent avec les Princes aiment mieux leurs intérêts que celui du Prince qu'ils servent, et ainsi ils n'ont garde de lui procurer un avantage en se nuisant à eux-mêmes."

<sup>102</sup> P. 91.

The question of falsehoods *pro bono publico* does not exist for Pecquet: none can ever be allowed. A man is not bound to say all he knows, but he must never speak an untruth. "It has often been the stumbling-block of many negotiators," he says, "to have ignored or have wanted to ignore that one can, without the help of falsehood, well serve one's master and one's country." He does not even admit the political definition of a lie which I recently heard given by a man of note: "A lie consists in not speaking the truth to one who has a right to know it." It is, he considers, a question of the heart, and we have seen the part reserved to the heart in the new manuals, written in the century of sentiment and sensibility, the century of Richardson, Rousseau, Bernardin de St. Pierre:

The qualities of the heart in every profession, and especially that of the negotiator, are the most important. His success chiefly depends upon the confidence he inspires; sentiments of candor, truth, and probity are indispensable to him. One may seduce men by the brilliancy of one's talents, but if these are not guided by probity, they become useless and even dangerous instruments. Men do not forgive having been deceived. Nothing built on falsehood has any duration; events are not long in bringing truth to light. "We are persuaded that there remains to-day none of those princes who prided themselves on cleverly deceiving others. There is nothing a man jealous of his reputation must avoid more carefully than missions contrary to probity."<sup>103</sup>

When the mission of an ambassador comes to an end, his duties continue. The knowledge he has acquired belongs not to him but to his government, he must sum it up in a general report which will instruct those who sent him; he will not publish it for fear of hurting the interests of his own country. "The public, usually curious, without any advantage for the state, will possibly see in this reserve nothing but ridiculous scruple and useless secrecy, instead of respecting a discretion inspired by probity and the love of the state." The envoy must not yield, but resist an inducement the more dangerous "that self-love and a desire to shine may cause him to find a certain satisfaction in falling into this kind of temptation".

Like the man who has once pronounced perpetual vows, Pecquet's ambassador, when he has returned home, will not become indolent; he may be wanted again by his country. "An envoy must consider himself, even in his moments of rest, as consecrated forever to a special service, the obligations of which should be ever present to his mind, be the object of his studies, and serve as a rule of conduct in his conversations and actions."<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Pecquet, pp. xiv, 6 ff.

<sup>104</sup> Pp. 156. 158.



## VI.

Most of the principles propounded by modest and now forgotten Pecquet have been justified by events. The most terrible revolutions, the most cruel wars mankind has ever seen, have one after the other proclaimed to the world, as the moral of their tale of destruction and slaughter: Falsehood and cruelty do not pay.

They will more and more, and in louder tones, proclaim the same dogma. That mankind progresses does not, for sincere observers, allow the possibility of a doubt. Old Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, the translator of Aristotle, used to say to me years ago when he was our foreign minister: "The proof that good prevails over evil in the society of men is that this society still exists." Certain it is, therefore, that honorable ways of acting will increasingly be the only ones admitted; the others will be rejected, and, if resorted to, will entail such punishment as to more and more efficiently prevent their use. The ideas of Pecquet will triumph, and those of Germonius be defeated.

In spite of whatever set-backs, let us keep our faith. Set-backs may occur in the future; the most appalling ones are of yesterday, when some peoples were seen following the wrong road, re-enacting and obeying a gospel of force, of inequality among nations, of the weaker, because weaker, having to obey the stronger, of the end justifying the means whatever the end and whatever the means, proclaiming as their guiding principle that of wolves and ravens, that necessity has no law, persuaded that, hand in hand, force and falsehood were sure to triumph, and relying so much on them that when they wanted to start that "fresh and joyous war", which was to result in the agonizing death of millions of brave and useful citizens, yours, ours, theirs, they did not even take the trouble to devise probable stories, but declared war on France because she had bombarded Nuremberg. Had she indeed?

What was retrogression, they called progress, forgetting that, as John Morley observed, "the law of things is that they who tamper with veracity, from whatever motives, are tampering with the vital force of human progress".<sup>105</sup> The moral of the tale is there, however. Men and nations obeying different tenets have been powerful men and nations—for a time; rising, but only *unde altior esset casus*.

No one would now relate as a fine trait to the credit of a great man what Moritz Busch admiringly reports of Bismarck's instructions to him when the memoirs of the Emperor Frederick began to

<sup>105</sup> *On Compromise*, ch. III.

appear in the *Deutsche Rundschau*: "I myself consider the diary even more genuine than you do," said Bismarck to his trusty confidant; nevertheless, "first assert it to be a forgery, and express indignation at such a calumny upon the noble dead. Then, when they prove it to be genuine, refute the errors and foolish ideas which it contains, but cautiously".<sup>106</sup> The trusty confidant made this public in order to increase the admiration of his compatriots for their great man.

The day for such things has gone by, we hope; evidence is growing that the rules of honesty cannot be of one sort for ordinary men and of another for powerful ones or for nations. "I know but one code of morality for men," Jefferson had written to Madison, at an earlier date, Paris, August 28, 1789, "whether acting singly or collectively. He who says, I will be a rogue when I act in company with a hundred others, but an honest man when I act alone, will be believed in the former assertion but not in the latter." The code of Jefferson will more and more triumph and that of Bismarck be more and more contemned.

In their sorrow for the past, their anxiety for the future, honest nations have recently been considering what could be tried to prevent the recurrence of catastrophes and to secure the safety of even the smaller among them. And, as in the time of the barbaric invasions of yore which had so greatly contributed to the attempted formation of a family of Christian peoples, with an ever ready pacific judge and umpire, they bethought themselves of that organism which we now see struggling for a useful existence, the League or Society of Nations, with its permanent tribunal.<sup>107</sup> No Perdita ever had a stormier infancy than the new being,

Thou 'rt like to have  
A lullaby too rough: I never saw  
The heavens so dim by day.

The mere fact however of such a birth is an important symptom, and another of an even greater value is that the very men who disagree with the plan such as it is, agree with the object: the fate of nations must depend in the future on something else than force and falsehood.

<sup>106</sup> Sept. 26 and 28, 1888. *Bismarck . . . being a Diary kept by Dr. Moritz Busch* (London and New York, 1898, 2 vols.), I. 428, 435.

<sup>107</sup> The League of Nations was devised chiefly to replace the "balance of power", held to be inadequate, by something more exalted, which would be, though no one probably thought of it at Versailles, an attempt at a more practical family of nations: "There must now be", said President Wilson in his Guildhall speech of Dec. 28, 1918, "not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set off against another, but a single, overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world."

Years may elapse before the goal is reached, and in the meantime no precautions necessary for safety should be neglected, for neglect would result in lengthening the journey. But a great thing it is that the goal stands visible as a beacon before the eyes of the whole world. Without perhaps reaching it in our days, to come nearer will be a great boon. And how much nearer shall we not be, how much lighter the burdens and anxieties of mankind, when one nation whose thinkers, poets, and scientists had won for her of yore the admiration of the world, may find her way to pronounce these three short words: "We are sorry!"

In the task of hastening better days, honest negotiators, busy with the task and not with the building of their own fortunes, obeying the most austere of the olden-day manuals, will have an important part to play: *Conamur tenues grandia*. No invention, no telephone, no aeroplane, no wireless, will ever replace the knowledge of a country and the understanding of a people's dispositions. The importance of persuading a prince and his minister has diminished; that of understanding a nation has increased. The temper, qualities, and limitations of many a man can sometimes be divined on short acquaintance; those of a nation need a longer contact. Temporary missions may suffice in the first case; permanent ones are indispensable in the second, and will therefore be continued. Instead of showing signs of reduction in the more recent period, the ambassadorial system has been adopted by more and more numerous countries. "It would be an historical absurdity," one reads in such a recent and authoritative work as the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ninth edition,<sup>108</sup> "to suppose diplomatic relations connecting together China . . . and Japan"; this has nevertheless come to pass.

Secret treaties, already forbidden by the present League covenant, which has been accepted by the immense majority of nations, will cease to be resorted to. Nothing better shows the change of sentiment throughout the world than another anecdote triumphantly told by Busch in his memoirs of Bismarck. The latter is represented giving as an "exquisite example" of the political incapacity of Emperor Frederick III., the fact that, being informed by him of a secret treaty of neutrality concluded by his country with Russia, in case of an Anglo-Russian war, the then *Kronprinz* replied: "'Of course England has been informed and has agreed to it.' Great laughter, in which the ladies also joined."<sup>109</sup> There would be no laughter nowadays and the ladies would not join.

<sup>108</sup> Published 1875-1889.

<sup>109</sup> Sept. 29, 1888. Busch's *Diary*, as above, I. 436.

Actual negotiations, however, will be initiated and conducted in public in all their phases, only when humanity is composed of men impervious to the praise, the sarcasms, the exigencies, the threats, the fury, the ridicule, the idolatry of the *agora*: not a thing for today, we may fear, nor perhaps for tomorrow.

Born on the day when the evils escaped from Pandora's box, ambassadorial functions will cease only on the happy, but maybe distant day, when the evils go back to their box.

Let us trust however that history in the making will more and more have the same ideal and motto as history in the telling, the same as our American Historical Association, *Super omnia veritas*. May future ambassadors never forget that, as old Dolet wrote centuries ago, their chief duty "is to be rather the makers of peace and concord than of discord and of war", and that, as Erasmus wrote in his book for the guidance of the future Emperor Charles V.: "Wars beget wars; good will begets good will; equity, equity."<sup>110</sup>

J. J. JUSSERAND.

<sup>110</sup> "Bellum quid gignat nisi bellum? At civilitas civilitatem invitat, aequitas aequitatem." *Institutio Principis Christiani*, ch. XI.

## JAY'S TREATY AND THE NORTHWEST BOUNDARY GAP

HAD the negotiators of the treaty of peace and independence between the United States and Great Britain in 1782 been accompanied by the staffs of experts so indispensable to twentieth-century peacemakers there probably never would have been any northwest boundary gap. As it was, the peace commissioners, after some debate, agreed to fix the northern boundary on the general principle of the now familiar river-and-lake line from 45 degrees north latitude on the St. Lawrence to the Lake of the Woods and the Mississippi. There is nothing to indicate that these men ever made use of any other knowledge of the northwestern corner of the United States than was contained in the official British Mitchell's Map of 1755. This showed the territory as far west as the Lake of the Woods, and to that body of water the line was carried with reasonable precision. But over the northwest corner of Mitchell's Map from forty-seven to fifty-two degrees north latitude is spread an inset map of Labrador and Hudson's Bay. Out from under the inset flows the Mississippi, its source shrouded in mystery. A legend on the main map reads: "The head of the Mississippi is not yet known. It is supposed to arise about the 50th degree of latitude and western bounds of this map." The commissioners complacently projected the line from the northwesternmost corner of the Lake of the Woods due west to the hypothetical Mississippi.<sup>1</sup> Any professor-expert, had there been such in those days of inefficient diplomacy, could have shown the commissioners that such a line was impossible because the Mississippi really rises well to the south of the latitude of the Lake of the Woods, as many maps drawn between 1755 and 1782 indicate with fair accuracy.<sup>2</sup>

The treaty thus left a boundary gap of approximately 175 miles in an air line between the source of the Mississippi and the northwesternmost corner of the Lake of the Woods. It was not until nine years after ratification that this fact was discovered and became a

<sup>1</sup> For facsimile of Mitchell's Map, see Channing, *History of the United States*, III. 361. For discussion of the northern boundary negotiations, 1779-1782, *ibid.*, 386; A. J. Hill, in Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections*, VII. 305-317; A. N. Winchell, *id.*, VIII. 187-194.

<sup>2</sup> For enumeration and description of contemporary maps, see *Statutes, Documents, and Papers respecting the Northern and Western Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1878), pp. 135-140.

matter of diplomatic negotiations. From the first, however, the new boundary line was the cause of consternation to British subjects in Canada. Immediately the terms of the preliminary articles of peace were known on the banks of the St. Lawrence it was apparent that the British diplomatists in yielding to the extensive territorial claims of their adversaries had overlooked a matter of great economic consequence to Canada, a geographical detail which might have been adjusted easily had the negotiators known anything about the lands they were dividing. This was the location of the Grand Portage between Lake Superior and the navigable portion of Pigeon River, up which stream went the goods of the Montreal fur merchants to be carried across the height of land and by way of the Lake of the Woods to the intricate canoe routes of the virgin fur country of the great territory of the Northwest.

The Canadian fur trade, the prostration of which appeared to be threatened by fulfilment of the treaty terms and which thus came to be connected intimately with the boundary question, was the most profitable single industry of eighteenth-century North America. On it depended the immediate prosperity of the remaining British continental possessions. For the ten years after the peace of 1783 the business produced furs worth £200,000 sterling annually.<sup>3</sup> Half of this came from United States territory to the south of the Great Lakes, country dominated until 1796 by British occupation in violation of Article II.<sup>4</sup> of the treaty of peace. Moreover, furs to the value of £40,000 annually already were coming in from the Northwest over the Grand Portage,<sup>5</sup> which portage to their disappointment the fur princes of Montreal discovered to have been ceded to the United States through the ignorance of the king's peacemakers. At the same time that the traders contemplated the withdrawal of British forces from control of their fur preserves in what was now American territory to the south of the new boundary line—a withdrawal against which they vigorously protested<sup>6</sup>—it was by no means pleasant to

<sup>3</sup> "Importation of Skins from Canada, 1788", Canadian Archives (hereinafter cited as C. A.), Q 43, p. 826, from C. O. 42: 66; "Report to Grenville on the Fur Trade of Canada, furnished by John Inglis to Lord Grenville", Mark Lane, May 31, 1790, C. A., Q 49, p. 287, from C. O. 42: 72; "Memoir in regard to the Fur Trade, about 1794", Chatham MSS., bdle. 346. These three documents are now available in print in the appendix to Davidson's *North West Company*.

<sup>4</sup> That American soil should be evacuated by British troops "with all convenient speed".

<sup>5</sup> Account of the fur trade of Canada furnished by John Inglis, *supra*, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Frobisher to Adam Mabane, Montreal, Apr. 19, 1784, C. A., B 75-2, p. 75, printed in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (herein-

observe that the Grand Portage, artery of the fur trade to the new and unexploited regions of the Northwest and the Rocky Mountains, had been carelessly ceded away.<sup>7</sup>

The first effort to escape the consequences of this loss was to send out explorers to find some other route, wholly within British territory, between the Lake of the Woods and Lake Superior. Under the employ of the North West Company, Umfreville and St. Germain in 1784 did find an alternative route by way of the Kaministiquia River and Lake Nipigon,<sup>8</sup> a passage previously known to old French traders but neither so convenient nor so direct. But it soon became evident that recourse to the new waterway would not be necessary. The British government, acting in the interests of the fur merchants of Canada and London and in behalf of the Indian nations of the Ohio Valley, their former allies who were uneasy at anticipated American dominion over their lands, decided not to fulfill for the time being the terms of the treaty of peace.<sup>9</sup> Orders to the governor-general of British North America to refuse delivery of the frontier posts went forth from Whitehall, in fact, the day before George III. proclaimed ratification of the treaty and publicly promised to enforce it.<sup>10</sup> Soon thereafter it developed that the United States on its side was unable to carry out faithfully some of the American obligations under the treaty, notably the guaranty of unimpeded collection of ante-bellum debts due to British creditors. In this way the armory of British diplomacy was furnished with a plausible enough excuse for refusing to deliver. As long as these strategic positions thus continued to be garrisoned by British troops the fur trade on United States soil went after cited as *Mich. P. H. C.*), XX. 219-222. Compare this letter with that of Haldimand to Captain Robertson, Quebec, May 6, 1784, *ibid.*, p. 226. For direct solicitations of the fur traders to the government, see Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, Oct. 4, 1784, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 50; Haldimand to Thomas Townshend, C. A., Q 21, p. 220; unsigned letter to Nepean, Detroit, Sept. 1, 1784, *Mich. P. H. C.*, XXIV. 17.

<sup>7</sup> "Observations by Isaac Todd and Simon McTavish", etc., Chatham MSS., bdle. 346, printed in Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, Oct. 4, 1784, C. A., Q 24-2, p. 409; James McGill to Hon. Henry Hamilton, *ibid.*, Q 25, p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Evidence on this point has been abundantly found by the present investigator after painstaking examination of the Canadian Archives and of the Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office, the results of which he hopes to embody in another work. The correspondence is too voluminous to cite here. Some of it has been presented in McLaughlin's "British Debts and Western Posts", in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1894, p. 444. See also Douglas Brynmner's comments in his introduction to *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. xxxi.

<sup>10</sup> Sydney to Haldimand, Apr. 8, 1785, C. A., Q 23, p. 55. The ratification of the treaty was proclaimed by the king on April 9.



on unrestricted and the North West Company's *voyageurs* used the Grand Portage without hindrance, the nearest American being hundreds of miles away.

The question of the retention of the posts soon developed into that protracted diplomatic contest, familiar to students of the period, which eventually ended by their evacuation in 1796 according to the terms of Jay's Treaty (signed November 19, 1794). Observing that the matter of the frontier boundary had thus passed into a long diplomatic contest the fur traders importuned the government to secure their interests in any final settlement to be reached with the United States: (1) by providing that British traders might freely pass and repass the boundary to trade with the Indians on the American side,<sup>11</sup> and (2) by securing for British subjects liberty of passage through the few miles of United States territory to the southward of Pigeon River over which ran the Grand Portage.<sup>12</sup> It might even be possible, some of them thought, to secure such minor rectification of the boundary in the northwest corner of the United States as would include the Grand Portage within British territory.<sup>13</sup>

Affairs were in this posture when the British minister at Philadelphia, George Hammond, received from Montreal a map proving that the line due west from the Lake of the Woods could never strike the Mississippi. It was evident that a new line would have to be drawn in that part of the country, and England now had a good reason for wishing to change the boundary there. It dawned on Hammond that the necessity for a boundary rectification might be turned to the great profit of his government.<sup>14</sup> At the time, he was competing in an unequal contest with the astute Jefferson in regard to the whole field of questions in dispute between the two governments, the most important of which was the frontier question—which involved the posts. The British minister now introduced the rectification of the northwest boundary gap as another matter to be regu-

<sup>11</sup> "Memoir in regard to the Fur Trade, about 1794", *supra*, note 3.

<sup>12</sup> The topography of the country on the north or British bank of the river made a portage there impossible. For map, see J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. VI., pl. 57.

<sup>13</sup> Frobisher to Mabane, Apr. 19, 1784, C. A., B 75-2, p. 75.

<sup>14</sup> Hammond to Grenville, Philadelphia, Feb. 2, 1792: "I trust that this Government [*i. e.*, the United States] will not endeavour to take advantage of this accidental geographical error, which, if not rectified, will not only leave the limits between the two countries undefined, but also render entirely nugatory the eighth article of the treaty, which stipulates that the navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the ocean is to remain free and open to the subjects of the two countries respectively." Foreign Office Papers, Public Record Office (hereinafter cited as F. O.), 115: 1; printed in Dropmore Papers, II. 254.

lated in any general diplomatic settlement, and he proceeded further to couple the boundary question with that article of the treaty of peace which had guaranteed the free navigation of the Mississippi to the subjects and citizens of both nations.

To appreciate fully Hammond's argument on this point we should keep in mind that the boundary of the United States is fixed by Article II. of the treaty, the article which follows immediately after recognition of independence. Six articles then intervene before the eighth, which is the last but one of the whole document. The eighth article reads: "The navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States." Hammond argued that the fixing of a boundary from the Lake of the Woods "on a due west course to the River Mississippi" was proof of intention of the negotiators of the treaty to bring the territory of British North America to abut on the river. He then cited the navigation article (which occurs in another part of the treaty and has no textual relationship to the boundary article) to prove that the geographical impossibility of a line due west of the Lake of the Woods to the river would render "nugatory" one of the chief guaranties of the treaty and one of the most valuable ones for Great Britain, for of what use would a guaranty of navigation be if the territory of that power were prevented from touching the river? The boundary, he maintained, should be rectified in such a way as to bring British territory up to the banks of the river and thus to realize the true intention of the men who drew up the treaty. Such a rectification, Hammond presumed to suggest, would be to the interest of the United States in that it would place a British buffer between that nation and Spanish Louisiana.

Observing the map, the reader will notice that the insertion of British territory to act as an appreciable buffer between the United States and the vacant prairies of Spanish Louisiana would have made necessary a long southward extension down the left bank of the Mississippi. This was exactly what Hammond ventured to propose, an extension which would bring a finger of British soil as far south as the "navigable waters" of the river,<sup>15</sup> which become navigable, for other craft than canoes and small boats, below the Falls of St. Anthony near the present city of St. Paul. It was an effort to create a situation out of which, in the give-and-take of the pending general diplomatic settlement, England might obtain a much desired cession of commercially strategic territory in a little-heard-of part of the North American continent.

<sup>15</sup> "Notes of a Conversation with Mr. Hammond, June 3, 1792", Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 193-198.

It is certain that some English students of colonial affairs were estimating the future importance of the Mississippi Valley as the seat of a great future Anglo-Saxon population which would constitute a market for English manufactures more valuable than the existing fur trade of that valley, a trade certain to be exhausted as soon as the country should be settled. Both Hammond and Simcoe, the first governor of Upper Canada, placed great stress on the advantages to England of establishing a commercial connection with the future population of the Illinois country by way of the navigation system of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. In the words of Simcoe, Upper Canada might become the vestibule of trade between the increasing population of the future Mississippi Valley and England, in the same way in which the Netherlands was then the vestibule of commerce between the German states and England.<sup>16</sup> Hammond, in describing the possibilities of rectification of the boundary gap, wrote to Grenville, the secretary of state for foreign affairs:

The rapid progress in population and improvement of the settlements formed along the banks of the Mississippi undoubtedly renders the free navigation of that river an object highly desirable, as it will open a new, extensive and unrivalled market for British manufactures, with which the inhabitants of those settlements can be more reasonably and plentifully supplied by the means of water communication with Canada than through the United States.<sup>17</sup>

Such arguments as these, made during the Industrial Revolution when English manufactures were demanding wider markets and when the British ship of state was wafted to a considerable degree by trade winds, did not escape the attention of Pitt's government. We are not surprised to find among the papers of the prime minister in 1794 an anonymous memorandum on frontier policy which must have been under his eye during the Jay negotiation. The writer of this document advocated evacuation of the frontier posts in order to reach a peaceable settlement with the United States. Military protection, he held, was not necessary for the fur trade, as could be instanced in the trade about Lake Superior. The great aim which British policy should serve was not protection of a commerce in peltries, bound soon to perish; rather, the Americans should be conciliated and England should encourage the population of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys—territory which would then furnish extensive markets for British manufactures to be supplied by water carriage from Canada.

The only object Great Britain can have in retaining Canada in a

<sup>16</sup> Simcoe to Dundas, London, June 2, 1791, C. A., Q 278, pp. 228-255; report of Simcoe to the Lords of Trade, Sept. 1, 1794. *ibid.*, Q 280-2, p. 307.

<sup>17</sup> Hammond to Grenville, Feb. 2, 1792, *supra*, note 14.

commercial view, is that Canada extends all along the back of America. It will at all times secure to Great Britain a sale of her manufactures and oblige the Government of America to be moderate in their duties, otherwise the goods will be smuggled in upon them. A good understanding must be courted with all the subjects of America that joins Canada. . . . It is our business from every tie of justice, humanity and sound policy to put an end to the Indian war, and to encourage the Back Settlers all in our power. It is from that country that we will be supplied with hemp. The settlers there will never rival us either in shipping or in sailors nor for ages in manufactures. We will have all their trade without any expense of maintaining them. What more would you require? . . . Receive their wheat on moderate terms and they will take our manufactures. Every check on the sale of their wheat, etc., will drive them the sooner to manufactures.<sup>18</sup>

In the light of such considerations the proposal of Hammond to extend a strip of British territory south to the "navigable waters" of the Mississippi assumes no small significance. It was a design the importance of which has since been emphasized by the economic history of the Mississippi Valley. It was not only of economic importance; such a projection of British territory might have been used as an entering wedge for future political connections. Any one familiar with the intrigues between the officials of British North America and the frontier settlements of the American back-country knows that such a connection had been plotted frequently in the years between the establishing of American independence and the ratification of Jay's Treaty. Even if economic penetration should not lead eventually to political connection, the commerce with the American West, with the mouth of the Mississippi closed by Spain, was likely to prove of great profit. Finally, as will be shown, it would have worked against future American sovereignty over an important area of the Far West.

Jefferson was quick to discern Hammond's purpose. The Virginian agreed that there should be no objection to closing the boundary gap, but insisted that it should be done by "as small and unimportant an alteration as might be", such as a line drawn from the most northern source of the Mississippi due north to strike a line extending due west from the Lake of the Woods. "The navigation article had nothing to do with the boundary article, he asserted. It concerned the southern boundary of the United States and the secret article of the preliminaries of peace which had contemplated British possession of Florida as a result of a peace between England and

<sup>18</sup> Chatham MSS., bdle. 344. Unsigned and undated, but indorsed, "Considerations on the propriety of Great Britain abandoning the Indian Posts and coming to a good understanding with America"; see also letter of N. Miller to Alexander Hamilton, Feb. 19, 1792, *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 264-266.

Spain, in which case the navigation of the Mississippi would have been most important to Great Britain as a riparian power.<sup>19</sup> In bringing up the subject in this fashion the British minister, Jefferson decided, "showed a desire that such a slice of our Northwest Territory might be cut off for them as would admit them [the English] to the navigation and profit of the Mississippi."<sup>20</sup>

The subject having now been introduced by Hammond, it came up for attention in Washington's cabinet, but not as a result of the conversation between Hammond and the Secretary of State. On October 31, 1792, a Cabinet meeting was held to consider what reply ought to be made to Spain on the matter of Spanish interference in the execution of a treaty between the United States and the Creek Indians,<sup>21</sup> and on the question of the southwestern boundary then in dispute between the United States and Spain. According to Jefferson's notes of the meeting, he himself favored transferring the whole discussion from Philadelphia to Madrid, thus postponing the question and creating a delay during which new developments might make it possible to avoid a rupture, which delay was "much to be desired, while we had similar points to discuss with Great Britain".

Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, then spoke. He advised peace as a growing period for national strength but anticipated eventual war with Spain and sought an ally—England. To purchase that alliance he proposed among other equivalents the adjusting of the northwest boundary in such a way as to admit England to "some navigable part of the Mississippi", and argued that joint possession with Great Britain of the navigation of the Mississippi would be desirable because it would mean joint protection of the same.<sup>22</sup>

How did Alexander Hamilton, who confessedly had not even looked the matter up on a map, come to make a proposal that fell in so neatly with the project for rectification suggested by the British minister at Philadelphia? In other pages the writer has shown the

<sup>19</sup> "Notes of a Conversation with Mr. Hammond, June 3, 1792", *supra*, note 15.

<sup>20</sup> Jefferson to Madison, June 4, 1792, Jefferson, *Writings* (Library ed.), VIII. 364. Hammond's account of this part of the conversation is very brief. He merely states that he emphasized the necessity of ascertaining with precision the respective boundaries, particularly those of the St. Croix [*i. e.*, in Maine] and in the northwest. "Mr. Jefferson acknowledged the truth of this observation, but assured me that this government would readily concur in any reasonable settlement." Hammond to Grenville, June 8, 1792, F. O. 4: 15.

<sup>21</sup> *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (hereinafter cited as *A. S. P., F. R.*), I. 259.

<sup>22</sup> Jefferson, *Writings*, I. 237.

intimacy which existed between Hamilton and Hammond. It amounted to collusion between the two to thwart what Hamilton feared to be the "personal predilections" of "honest" Jefferson in favor of France and his prejudice against England.<sup>23</sup> In pursuit of a perspicuous foreign policy of his own, Hamilton considered peace between England and the United States vitally necessary to the newly engendered American nationality, and he went great lengths to prevent any interruption of Anglo-American commerce, upon which the revenues of his financial system depended. Such would have been his excuse for intriguing with the British minister who was supposed to conduct his negotiations with Jefferson, secretary of state.

Enjoying as he did close relations with Hamilton, whose advice he considered the most weighty of any of Washington's advisers, Hammond had discussed the boundary rectification with the Secretary of the Treasury more intimately than with the Secretary of State. He wrote Lord Grenville that Hamilton had said in the "last conversation" that undoubtedly the United States government would allow a "free intercourse" with the Indians on the American side of the boundary (a matter to which Hammond had not been inattentive) if the British government would allow the same privilege to Americans trading with the Indians on the British side of the line.<sup>24</sup> In his confidence the British minister then asked Hamilton—who had agreed, in the course of a general conversation on the navigation of the Mississippi, that it was for the interest of the United States to share with Great Britain the defense as well as the enjoyment of that navigation—whether anything contrary to British interests might be expected in the negotiations which were going on between the United States and Spain. Hamilton gave assurances that nothing would be agreed to that was contrary to the British rights of navigation on the river. Hammond then ventured to presume that the United States would have no objections to regulating the northwest boundary so as to afford His Majesty's government an effective communication with the Mississippi. Here Hamilton stiffened. He would give no assurances but replied that he believed the United States would consent to as liberal an accommodation as would not be detrimental to its own interests. Hammond did not consider this as a rebuff. On the contrary he wrote to Downing Street: "I am of the opinion that this government would consent to such a regulation of the northwest boundary as would afford a free and effectual connection with the

<sup>23</sup> See this *Review*, XXIV. 26-48.

<sup>24</sup> Hammond to Grenville, no. 26, Philadelphia, July 3, 1792, F. O. 4: 16.

Mississippi by means of some of the rivers falling into Lake Superior."<sup>25</sup>

This conversation had occurred in July, over three months before the Cabinet meeting above described. We conclude that at the Cabinet meeting of October 31, Hamilton was seeking official sanction to an overture which for lack of authority he had not been able to make behind the back of Jefferson, some weeks before. We infer that, as a means of erecting an Anglo-American alliance, he wished to take advantage of the English desire to get into the Mississippi. The arguments which he advanced to his colleagues in the administration reflect what had already passed between him and Hammond. Knox, secretary of war, agreed in general with Hamilton, and Randolph, attorney general, with Jefferson, who opposed the overtures to England. Fortunately for the future of the American West Hamilton's proposal was dismissed by President Washington with the comment that "the remedy was worse than the disease".<sup>26</sup>

The next stage in the history of the northwest boundary gap is to be noticed in connection with the Jay-Grenville negotiations in London during the summer of 1794. The general negotiation between Hammond and Jefferson, into which Hammond, in 1792, had introduced the northwest boundary, had dragged along slowly until in 1793 the outbreak of the war between France and England monopolized the energies of the Foreign Office and postponed discussion of the boundary until John Jay arrived in England in the summer of 1794 on a mission which was to determine peace or war at a time when the British navy was only too busy in controlling the European situation.

Lord Grenville, following Hammond's emphasis on the importance of the rectification, and doubtless adopting the minister's confidence that the United States would accept it, brought forward the matter as one of the necessary settlements in any general treaty.<sup>27</sup> He made use of Hammond's suggestion that the northwest boundary should be rectified in such a way as to give real effect to the navigation article of the treaty of peace. That article, he asserted, meant to give access to the navigable part of the river "*without passing*

<sup>25</sup> Hammond to Grenville, no. 27, Philadelphia, July 3, 1792, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> "Notes of a Cabinet Meeting, Oct. 31, 1792", Jefferson, *Writings*, I. 237.

<sup>27</sup> In answer to Hammond's communication on the diplomatic importance of the northwest boundary gap, Grenville had written the following to Hammond, Apr. 25, 1792: "It will be an object of greatest Importance, at all Events, to secure, if possible, to His Majesty's Subjects in Canada the free and uninterrupted Communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi, either by the Ouisconsin River, which I understand affords great Facility for that Purpose, or by such other Rivers as . . . shall appear more proper." F. O. 115: 1.



*through foreign territory*". He argued with Jay that because of the impossibility of the line due west from the Lake of the Woods, a wholly new line, now a proper subject for negotiation, might be drawn in that quarter with no necessary reference to the old attempt to fix a boundary. Accordingly he offered to the United States a choice of two lines based on such geographical knowledge of the upper Mississippi country as was afforded by Faden's map of 1793. One of the proposed lines ran due west from Lake Superior, at West Bay, to Red Lake River (represented by Faden as one of the western tributaries of the Mississippi), and thence down that river to its supposed confluence with the Mississippi. This would have moved the American frontier of western Canada south to the latitude of the present city of Duluth. That is, it would have done so had it been itself geographically possible, but in fact it was a line as impossible as the delimitation laid down at Versailles in 1783; Red Lake River does not flow into the Mississippi but into the Red River of the North.<sup>28</sup> Such a line undoubtedly was calculated by Grenville to secure British possession of the Grand Portage, but really it would still have left a northwest boundary gap to be settled. The acceptable alternative to this boundary was described as running due north from the mouth of the St. Croix River to the water communication between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods, the communication already followed in the treaty of 1783. It would have left the Grand Portage on American soil but would have extended a wedge of British territory south along the left bank of the Mississippi to an apex located about twenty-five miles below the present city of St. Paul, Minnesota—that is, to the "navigable portion" of the great river below the Falls of St. Anthony. One line would have given to Great Britain undisputed possession of the Grand Portage; the other would have recognized an extension of territory of even greater commercial importance, a trade entrance into the American West and a port on the upper navigable waters of the Mississippi River. In case the latter line were chosen, Grenville had more than provided for the security of British trade over the Grand Portage by introducing into the new treaty a clause by which British subjects were to have freedom of passage "over the several waters, carrying-places, and roads adjacent to the Lakes or connecting with them".<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Although Grenville was one of the best-informed men in England on North America, he was not wholly at home in the geography of the American West, a subject little known at best. See his instructions for Vancouver's celebrated expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the northwest coast of America in 1791. *Report of Provincial Archivist of British Columbia* for 1913, p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> *A. S. P., F. R.*, I. 490-495. All the papers relating to the Jay negotiation

To his eternal credit this is one of the few demands of the British foreign minister which John Jay in his anxiety for peace did not accept. The adoption of either of the proposed lines, as Jay pointed out, would have meant the cession of between 30,000 and 35,000 square miles of United States territory. Had he accepted such a limitation, it is difficult to conceive that in the future boundary conventions the United States could have obtained the line of forty-nine degrees north latitude, west to the Rocky Mountains, and, eventually, to the Pacific Ocean.

Jay showed that on the very map on which Grenville relied for his geographical information several other streams were marked "Mississippi by conjecture", and he contended that it would be only reasonable, in view of admitted uncertainty of geographical knowledge in that quarter, to have a joint survey made which should serve as the basis for future definitive settlement. This proposition, which was far from closing all possibilities of rectification favorable to Great Britain at some future date, Grenville had to accept.<sup>30</sup> The reasonableness of Jay's contention is reinforced when one examines the modern map, and finds that the Red Lake River line would have

are not published here, nor were they submitted to the Senate. In the case of the northwest boundary gap, the unpublished papers of the Foreign Office, which include copies of all notes exchanged (the negotiation took place in writing), and which the writer has examined, add nothing to the material in *Foreign Relations*; neither do the Jay Papers in the library of the New York Historical Society.

<sup>30</sup> *A. S. P., F. R.*, I. 490-495. Jay refusing to accept either of the proposed rectifications Grenville drafted an article providing for an immediate joint survey on the basis of this formula: "Whereas it is a question of difference between the said parties, in case these lines [*i. e.*, the boundary lines of the Treaty of 1783] should be found not to close, whether, according to the true intent and meaning of the 2d and 8th articles of the Treaty of Peace, these lines ought to be closed in such a manner, as that Canada should border on navigable water of the said river—which question it would be premature to discuss and endeavour to settle, while the said Parties remain uninformed of the actual extent and many other material circumstances of the said river", etc. The survey was to measure the depth and channel of the river, particularly "the intervals where it may be found to be navigable". A copy of this draft was recently secured for the writer by the editor of this *Review*, who found it among the private, unprinted, manuscripts of Lord Grenville preserved at Dropmore, England.

Jay refused to consider any article which discussed in any way the question of bringing Canada to the navigable waters of the Mississippi, though he included in his treaty draft of September 30 an article for a joint commission to survey the region of the supposed boundary gap. Article IV. of the treaty finally signed provided that "measures shall be taken in concert" for a joint survey, but did not provide the measures at that time. No commission was set up for the purpose, as was done in Article V. for the settlement of the disputed northeastern boundary. A definite settlement was in this way postponed.

still left a northwest boundary gap, and when one reflects that up to that time there had been no question of the identity of the boundary as far west as the Lake of the Woods, part of which accepted line Grenville, under guise of fashioning an entirely new boundary, was now attempting to rectify.

Though Lord Grenville was not successful in securing British title to a tract of land of incalculable value to the future United States, the treaty which he and John Jay signed provided abundantly for the protection of the British fur trade of the Northwest and for the security of the Grand Portage route. Article III. of Jay's Treaty stipulated:

It is agreed that it shall at all times be free to His Majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians dwelling on either side of the said boundary line, freely to pass and repass by land and inland navigation into the respective territories and countries of the two parties on the continent of America (the country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other. . . .<sup>31</sup>

The river Mississippi shall . . . according to the treaty of peace, be entirely open to both parties; and it is further agreed, that all ports and places on its eastern side, to whichever of the parties belonging, may freely be resorted to and used by both parties, in as ample a manner as any of the Atlantic ports or places of the United States, or any of the ports and places of His Majesty in Great Britain. . . .

[Reciprocal favored-nation privileges were agreed to by the same article, which further provided] that no duty shall ever be laid by either party on peltries brought by land or inland navigation into the said territories respectively, nor shall the Indians passing or repassing with their own proper goods and effects of whatever nature, pay for any import or duty whatsoever. But goods in bales, or other packages unusual among Indians, shall not be considered as goods belonging *bona fide* to Indians.

Again, free passage across the portages on both sides of the boundary was stipulated, and goods and traders thus crossing portages and back into their own territory were to be free from tariffs.

Thus, even though in fulfilment of Jay's Treaty Great Britain finally evacuated American soil, she secured permanent<sup>32</sup> commercial privileges on the frontier which enabled her to hold the rich fur trade she had built up among the United States Indians and to secure the use of the Grand Portage to the Canadian Northwest. More than this, by the right to use the inland water navigation and to establish warehouses and other facilities for trade anywhere on the east bank

<sup>31</sup> An exception was made in the case of rivers other than the Mississippi which were navigable from the sea.

<sup>32</sup> The first ten articles of the treaty were to be permanent in their operation.

of the Mississippi, equal in privilege to the port privileges extended by the United States to foreign subjects in Atlantic ports, the way was open for that future great commerce which sanguine Englishmen hoped would flow into the American West by way of the Great Lakes, making Montreal and not New Orleans the future *entrepôt* of the commerce of the Mississippi Valley.

That these trading privileges were nominally reciprocal<sup>33</sup> did not make them, to any great extent, advantageous to the United States. By virtue of their long-standing connections with the Indians within American territory, British traders were able to cope successfully with American competition<sup>34</sup> until the War of 1812.<sup>35</sup> Until that time they had a practical monopoly of the upper Mississippi country.<sup>36</sup> Alexander Hamilton, who became the most powerful advocate before the public for the ratification of Jay's Treaty, in elucidating Article III. dwelt on the advantages of this reciprocity. Only a small proportion of the Canadian furs had come from American territory, he argued, while now all of Canada would be open to the enterprise of American fur traders.<sup>37</sup> This argument rested on mistaken information. As pointed out above, one-half of the Canadian furs had depended on American territory for their production in the years before Jay's Treaty, while no American traders had resorted to Canada. The nominal reciprocity which was now opened to citizens of the United States to pursue the trade among the Indians dwelling on British soil was to a large degree cut away by the treaty's inhibition to Americans to enter the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>38</sup> It was a great boon to the United States when the War of 1812 put an end to this wholly one-sided arrangement.

<sup>33</sup> As first drafted by Grenville, this article did not even contain reciprocal privileges for American traders in British territory.

<sup>34</sup> Astor's company, which was tied up with Canadian stock-holders, carried on from Mackinaw a considerable fur trade within British territory on the east side of Lake Huron. See H. M. Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, I. 311.

<sup>35</sup> Gallatin to Astor, Aug. 5, 1835, Irving's *Astoria*, appendix.

<sup>36</sup> Pike, in 1807, found only British fur traders in the upper Mississippi country. They were flying the British flag and distributing British medals to the natives, until he requested them to stop the practice. Coues, *Journals of Z. M. Pike*, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>37</sup> "Camillus", no. XII., Hamilton, *Works* (J. C. Hamilton ed.), VII. 277.

<sup>38</sup> This possibility did not escape Washington. "All this [Article III.] looks very well on paper, but I much question whether in its operation it will not be found to work very much against us. 1st. What are the limits of that Company? . . . 2d. Admitting the fact, will they not, having possession of the trade, and the Indians being in their interest, by every artifice of *their* traders, prevent *ours* from extending themselves into the country, sharing in the profits.

The limits of the Hudson's Bay Company have a curious connection with the northwest boundary. The charter granted by Charles II. to the company in the year 1670 conveyed ownership outright to all the land within the watershed of the streams flowing into Hudson Bay in so far as such territory was not already under the domain of some Christian prince other than the King of England. The watershed of Hudson Bay extends south into the present states of Minnesota and North Dakota. In 1670 this upper portion of the watershed had not been occupied by any other Christian prince, nor had any part of the great Northwest of Canada. Nor for a long time thereafter was it occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company itself, which for a hundred years could not have known the precise southern limits of its charter rights. For a century the company did not venture more than a few miles inland from the shores of the bay, relying on the Indians to bring their furs down the rivers to the factories there. Before the company had occupied any of the great interior described by the royal charter, a Christian prince, the King of France, through the operations and explorations of his subject fur traders and pathfinders, took possession of Canada as far west as the Rocky Mountains, including much of the territory over which the Hudson's Bay Company would have considered that it had legal ownership. Soon the French in peace and war were disputing possession of the shores of the bay itself. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 France "restored" to England the territory on the shores of Hudson Bay. The King of France did not restore the interior country drained by the Hudson Bay rivers. Of the southern part of this territory he had occupied a great part, just how much nobody precisely knew.<sup>39</sup>

By the terms of Article X. of the Treaty of Utrecht an Anglo-French commission was to meet and determine the boundary between New France and the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the commission finally met, in 1719, the English representatives, acting on the behests of the company, claimed a line from Grimington's Island, off the coast of Labrador (latitude 58° 30' north) through Lake Mistassine (the source of Rupert's River) thence deflecting southwest to 49° north latitude, which parallel thenceforth was to be

and thereby bringing on disputes which may terminate seriously?" Washington to Hamilton, July 13, 1795, Hamilton, *Works* (J. C. Hamilton ed.), VI. 17.

<sup>39</sup> That the King of France did not restore more than the immediate shores of Hudson Bay did not necessarily destroy the English claims to portions of the interior, as some writers against the Hudson's Bay Company would have us believe (Lindsey, *An Investigation of the Unsettled Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 104). It really depends on just how much France could claim as having occupied, for she could not restore what she had never occupied.

the southern limit of the Hudson's Bay Company's territorial possessions.<sup>40</sup> This claim the French would not accept, and the commission broke up without achieving any result. When New France was ceded to Great Britain, in 1763, the northern limits of the province—that is, the southern boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's lands—never had been established. Either the charter of 1670 or the undetermined claims of New France had to be taken as the eventual boundary between the new British provinces and the territorial claims of the great corporation, a matter which led later to much Canadian litigation. What interests the investigator of the northwest boundary gap is the fact that contemporary English map-makers began to consider as the southern limit of western Canada (that is, the boundary between Spanish Louisiana and British North America) the line of 49° north latitude which had been *claimed* unsuccessfully in 1719 by England on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>41</sup> This cartographical fiction later became the sole precedent for the international boundary of 49°.

The provision of Article IV. of Jay's Treaty for a joint survey of the gap was never carried out. The first accurate survey of the upper waters of the Mississippi was made in 1797–1798 by David Thompson, the distinguished pathfinder and geographer of the North West Company. Thompson designated Turtle Lake (47° 37' north latitude) as the source,<sup>42</sup> a fact which became known to the world by the publication in 1801 of Alexander Mackenzie's famous *Voyages*.<sup>43</sup> He found the "source" while searching for the precise location of the parallel of 49° north and seeking to locate geographically the North West Company's trading posts in relation to that parallel, the purpose for which he was employed.

Thompson explains in his *Narrative* why the North West Company had this survey made. The motive which he attributes to them can easily be shown to be false, and his explanations on this point give a fatal blow to his *Narrative* as a trustworthy historical source. They show that the old man who wrote, after 1850, the record of events of his youth, fifty years before, unconsciously observed the sig-

<sup>40</sup> Petition of the Hudson's Bay Company to Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1714, *Docs. respecting Northern and Western Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 131. For description of accompanying map, *ibid.*, p. 136 i.

<sup>41</sup> James White, "Boundary Disputes and Treaties", in *Canada and Her Provinces* (Toronto, 1913), VIII. 838–843; *Docs. respecting Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 136 f.

<sup>42</sup> The Lake of the Woods he located at 49° 46'.

<sup>43</sup> *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans* (London, 1801). See 1902 ed., I. xciv–xcvi.

nificance of those events through an imagination stimulated by reflection on the great changes which had taken place in the half-century intervening. He occasionally departed from the skeleton of his old field-notes to embellish his narrative with comments of his own. Thompson declares that the North West Company's desire to learn the precise location of the parallel of 49° north was prompted by the treaty of 1792, which had made that parallel the boundary between the United States and Canada from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. He states that such a line was then adopted to remedy the gap left in 1783. The veteran geographer further declares, in his indignation at Britain's ever conceding such a boundary (49° north by that time had been projected by the Oregon treaty through to the Pacific), that the adoption of the line by the treaty of 1792 was due to the machinations of one Peter Pond,<sup>44</sup> an ubiquitous and quick-tempered American partner of the North West Company who had explored the upper Mississippi as a trader. Pond, who returned to Connecticut, his home, some time after 1790, is asserted by Thompson to have been "at the elbow" of the American commissioners who signed the treaty of 1792. The British diplomatists, on the other hand, were wholly ignorant of the country to the west of Lake Ontario and had no adequate maps. Hence they were duped by the Americans, who got expert advice from Peter Pond.<sup>45</sup> A comparatively recent Canadian writer, among the several who have relied implicitly on Thompson's *Narrative*, lamenting the terms of this treaty, writes that the real reason for the British concessions embodied in the treaty was a "supreme indifference to the territorial interests of British North America which had been so painfully apparent in all the boundary disputes with the United States; for the British commissioners must have had at the time of the negotiations, and for some time before, access to a map of the western country, with remarks upon its character, prepared by Pond himself".<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> For Pond, see "Journal of Peter Pond", Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections*, XVIII. 314-354, with editorial introduction; Davidson, *North West Company*, p. 37; *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 52.

<sup>45</sup> David Thompson, *Narrative*, p. 176.

<sup>46</sup> Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, p. 337. In his old age Thompson got pitifully little reward for his great services to his country. His last years were spent in abject poverty, with little attention to his petitions for relief by the government on account of his sixty years of distinguished services. The harassments of fortune which beset him during these years and his patriotic indignation at the impending danger of loss to Great Britain of the Columbia Basin (and finally its actual loss), into a large portion of which he had been the first white man to penetrate, and which he had claimed for England, can easily account for the confusion of his statements. From 1842 to 1845 Thomp-



As to the capacity of British negotiators in general in boundary controversies with the United States the present writer feels no call to make comment, but to accuse the Foreign Office of negligence in this instance is to be too severe; there was, of course, never any treaty of 1792. The line of 49° was not established as the international boundary west of the Lake of the Woods until the year 1818.

Dismissing this strange historical figment,<sup>47</sup> why should the North West Company have desired such geographical information, to the extent that they were willing to employ a professional geographer to make the survey for them? The records of the company are not available to testify, because the papers of its successor (after the merger of 1821), the Hudson's Bay Company, are not open to historical research; but a book published in 1801 by one of the principal partners of the North West Company affords the clue. This partner was Alexander Mackenzie and the book is none other than his famous *Voyages*. Mackenzie in 1797 had been located at the Grand Portage, and it was he, and William McGillivray, who engaged Thompson for the company. Mackenzie's *Voyages* appeared in London in 1801, but there are indications that the author was at work on this book very soon after Thompson had completed his survey of the upper Mississippi country. In this work, apropos of the northwest boundary gap, Mackenzie declared that if the navigation of the Mississippi were considered of any consequence to Great Britain, "the nearest way to get at it"<sup>48</sup> was from the head of Lake Superior by way of

son's advice on the geography of the Oregon dispute was sought by officials of the government, and he wrote several reports on his observations of the country. Two of these are important evidence of the absolute untrustworthiness of this ill-treated and indignant old patriot's *ex post facto* accounts of the northwest boundary dispute, for not only do they conflict as to dates and persons and circumstances, but they conflict also with the statements of Thompson noted in the above text, and with each other. Note particularly:

1. "Statement of David Thompson on the Seventh Article of the Treaty of Ghent" (undated, but apparently included with papers written in 1842-1845), and
2. "Remarks on the Oregon Boundary" made by David Thompson, June 10, 1845, at Montreal, for Sir James Alexander.

My attention was called to these documents by Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla. They are printed in *Report of the Provincial Archivist of British Columbia* for 1913, pp. 114-124.

<sup>47</sup> The manuscript of David Thompson's *Narrative* fell into the possession of Mr. Charles Lindsey, who followed it trustfully in *An Investigation of the Unsettled Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1873). It has been repeated from Lindsey by various Canadian writers, for example, Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea* (London, 1908). It was respected even as late as 1916 in J. B. Tyrrell's excellent edition of Thompson's *Narrative* (Toronto, 1916).

<sup>48</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages* (1902 ed.), I. xcvi. Mackenzie published a map with his work, the most accurate description of western Canada which had appeared.

the St. Louis River and the portage to the Mississippi. But the navigation of the Mississippi was only incidental to the real scope of this great pathfinder's plans, which are to be read in some general reflections with which he closes his remarkable book:

. . . the line of American boundary runs, and it is said to continue through Lake Superior (and through a lake called Long Lake which has no existence), to the Lake of the Woods, in latitude 49.37 North, from whence it is also said to run West to the Mississippi, which it may do, by giving it a good deal of Southing, but not otherwise; as the source of that river does not extend further north than latitude 47.38 North, where it is no more than a small brook; *consequently, if Great Britain retains the right of entering it along the line of division, it must be in a lower latitude, and wherever that may be, the line must be continued West, till it terminates in the Pacific Ocean, to the South of the Columbia.*<sup>49</sup> [Italics are the present writer's.]

Mackenzie's great ambition at this time, as is well known,<sup>50</sup> was a merger of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies to control the fur trade of British North America as far west as the Pacific Ocean (to which he had been the first to penetrate overland), including the basin of the Columbia.<sup>51</sup> The legendary boundary line of 49° north latitude, if accepted as the southern boundary of Canada in the west, would leave on foreign soil several of the posts of the North West Company west of the Mississippi and, if eventually projected to the ocean, would shut out the most valuable parts of the Columbia River basin, as well as much of the fur regions of the Rocky Mountains. Mackenzie's anxiety about the northwest boundary gap was due to his desire to obtain an advantageous point of departure, for the projection through to the Pacific, of the line which some day would have to be drawn between British North America and Louisiana. He wanted that line drawn in a latitude far enough south to secure the future of the fur trade of the Far West.

The boundary rectification contemplated by Hammond and taken up by Lord Grenville in the Jay negotiations for the sake of the British fur interests and other commercial interests would have secured the territorial basis for such far-sighted plans of empire as those imagined by Mackenzie. If the proposal to extend a wedge of British territory down to the "navigable" waters of the Mississippi, say to the latitude of the mouth of the St. Croix, had been accepted by Jay, the future line between the United States and Canada would in all likelihood have followed the parallel of 45° north instead of 49°; had Grenville's alternative line been accepted (the latitude of

<sup>49</sup> *Id.*, II. 343-344.

<sup>50</sup> See particularly Joseph Schafer's illuminating article, "British Attitude toward Oregon, 1815-1846", in this *Review*, XVI. 276-278.

<sup>51</sup> Mackenzie, *Voyages*, II. 353-355.

the present city of Duluth) it would have been a strong argument for making the future northern boundary run west along the parallel of about  $47^{\circ} 30'$ . Either line was likely to entail the loss, to the future American West, of great areas of land.

Concerning Jay's refusal to recognize what would have been a cession of American territory in the northwest corner of the country, the most distinguished student of western history has observed:

The modifications which England proposed in 1794 to John Jay in the northwestern boundary of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi, seemed, doubtless, to him significant chiefly as a matter of principle and as a question of the retention or loss of beaver grounds. The historians hardly notice the proposals. But they involved, in fact, the ownership of the richest and most extensive deposits of iron ore in America, the all-important source of a fundamental industry of the United States, the occasion for the rise of some of the most influential forces of our time.<sup>52</sup>

Unwittingly Jay was defending more than the territorial basis of the American steel industry. Without realizing it he held in his hand the destiny of a part of Minnesota, of North Dakota, Montana, and the commonwealths of the Pacific Northwest. He was holding for the United States the starting point of the 1818 boundary, which extended the line of  $49^{\circ}$  to the Rocky Mountains, thus at last eliminating the boundary gap and establishing a basis for the final extension of the international boundary to the Pacific Coast. These future states, which now elect as many United States senators as old New England did and which have incalculably rich natural resources (water-power so abundant, for example, as to make it possible to transfer industrial development in the twentieth century from the old northeastern to the new northwestern states), were the invisible stakes for which Jay and Grenville unconsciously played, amidst the immediate problems of a great world war, in those fateful days of 1794. From the twentieth-century point of view the historical student may well see, in the defeat of the Hammond-Grenville rectification project by the patriotic principles of Jefferson and Jay, one of those strokes of good fortune which have so strikingly and abundantly illustrated the boundary diplomacy of the United States. Had the suggestions of the equally patriotic Hamilton been adopted it is not very likely that much of the Pacific Northwest, Montana, and a part of Minnesota and South Dakota as well as all of North Dakota would be in the American Union today.<sup>53</sup> SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

<sup>52</sup> In Professor F. J. Turner's presidential address to the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1910, "Social Forces in American History", in this *Review*, XVI. 226.

<sup>53</sup> For a history of the northwest boundary, 1803-1815, see Dr. Schafer's paper, above cited, note 51; A. J. Hill, in *Minnesota Hist. Soc., Collections*, VII. 317-352; A. N. Winchell, *id.*, VIII. 185-212.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### ON THE TERM "BRITISH EMPIRE"

DURING the past few years the question has been raised whether we are strictly justified in applying the term "British Empire" to that complex of Great Britain, her overseas dominions and plantations, slave stations and trading posts, as it existed prior to 1763. By all means let us be accurate, but if we are to be condemned to substitute "Old Colonial System" for the simple "empire" used hitherto by all the authorities, let us be sure that it is indeed necessary to make three words always grow where one grew before, and to search for complicated phrases to express such matters as imperial finance or imperial defense.

The objections alleged to the use of the term to express what is commonly meant by it, prior to the Treaty of Paris, are two: first, that there was no empire before that date and that the condition of affairs was so different before and after as to require two terms to express the two states; and secondly, that the term was not used contemporaneously until after 1763 to include the overseas possessions. The first point taken may well be questioned, I think, on several grounds, but the present paper is concerned only with the second.

So far as I know, the question of contemporaneous usage was first raised by Professor C. H. Firth, in an interesting article in the *Scottish Historical Review* of April, 1918. In that he takes the stand that from the union of England and Scotland until an indefinite date, "British Empire" connoted Great Britain only and did not include the colonies. In the latter sense he notes only two examples before 1762, and says that "the phrase was not used officially, nor was it part of the common political vocabulary of the day", and that it did not come into general use until the reign of George III. The fact that he cites only two instances—one in 1689 and the other in 1708—prior to 1762 is a little misleading, I think, for although it is true that the term was much more commonly used after 1763 than before, nevertheless it is so frequently met with earlier that it must have been entirely familiar as applied to the colonies, to anyone who was interested in colonial matters.

In any question of a territorial sort it is well to begin with the maps, and if we do so we find a succession of them from 1690 onward every few years showing the West Indies and American conti-

mental colonies under such titles as "the English Empire in the Continent of America", "English Empire in America", "English Empire in the Ocean of America, or West Indies", "British Empire in America", "British Empire in North America", and "English Empire in North America".<sup>1</sup>

Turning now to the texts, our first reference is one of the two noted by Professor Firth. In 1689, Edward Littleton wrote from Barbadoes that "we by our Labour, Hazards, and Industry, have enlarged the English Trade and Empire—the English Empire in America",<sup>2</sup> and it is noteworthy that the first use of the term that I have noted in the colonial sense coincides approximately in time with the first map on which it is used and with Barbon's enthusiastic picture of an overseas empire in 1690. After discussing the difficulties of extending empire on land, he writes that:

those Things that Obstruct the Growth of Empire at Land, do rather Promote its Growth at Sea. . . . There needs no Change of the Gothick [English] Government; for that best Agrees with such an Empire.

The Ways of preserving Conquests gain'd by Sea, are different from those at Land. By the one, the Cities, towns and villages are burnt, to thin the People, that they may be the easier Governed and kept into Subjection; by the other, the Cities must be enlarged, and New ones built. . . . The Seat of such an Empire, must be in an Island, that their Defence may be solely in Shipping; the same way to defend their Dominion, as to enlarge it.

To Conclude, there needs no other Argument, That Empire may be raised sooner at Sea, than at Land, than by observing the Growth of the United Provinces. . . . But England seems the Properer Seat for such an Empire; . . . The Monarchy is both fitted for Trade and Empire . . . and if the Subjects increase, The ships, Excise, and Customs, which are the Strength and Revenue of the Kingdom, will in Proportion increase, which may be so Great in a short time, not only to preserve its Antient Sovereignty over the Narrow Seas, but to extend its Dominions over all

<sup>1</sup> *A Map of the English Empire in the Continent of America, viz. Virginia Maryland, Carolina, New York, New Iarsey, New England, Pensilvania* [1690 ?]; *A New Map of the English Empire in America, viz. Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, New York, New Iarsey, New England, Pennsylvania, Newfoundland, New France, etc.* [1695 ?]; *A New Map of the English Empire in America, etc.* (1701)—this map reappears with the same title in Wit's *Atlas Maior* [1706 ?]; *A New Map of the English Empire in America, etc., revis'd by Io. Sencx* (1719); *A New Map of the English Empire in the Ocean of America, or the West Indies* (1721); *Map of the British Empire in America, etc.,* [Popple], completed in manuscript in 1727; the same map published under the semi-official patronage of the Lords of Trade (1732); two more editions of the above (1733), and an edition in Amsterdam [1734 ?], all with the same title; *A New Chart of the British Empire in North America* [Southack's] (1746); *A New and Accurate Map of the English Empire in North America, etc.* (1755). I have cited only those which may be found in the Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> *The Groans of the Plantations* (London, 1689), p. 26.

the Great Ocean: An Empire, not less glorious, and of a much larger Extent than either Alexander's or Caesar's.<sup>3</sup>

No words could paint more clearly the imperial destiny of the island kingdom, and whether or not it was due to this pamphlet, it is from this time that we may date the use of the terms "British Empire" or "English Empire", both in books and maps, as including the overseas possessions.

In 1708, Oldmixon published his history of *The British Empire in America*, in which he distinctly speaks of the colonies as forming part of the empire.<sup>4</sup> This book may well have been read by Samuel Vetch, then much interested in his expedition to Canada; in the year after its appearance he wrote to the English authorities at home that the colonists had hoped that the conquest might prove of advantage to themselves "and all the Brittish Empyre".<sup>5</sup> Two years later the Massachusetts government sent an address to the queen in which they prayed that the Canadian expedition of that year might prove "of unspeakable benefit and advantage to the Whole British Empire".<sup>6</sup> In 1728, we find Defoe sealing the use of the term for "all the colonies and plantations which", he says, "form what they call the English Empire in America".<sup>7</sup> The next year a writer advocated bounties as a means of enlarging "our Empire in America";<sup>8</sup> in 1731 another wrote that the legislation then pending in Parliament tended to the weakening of "the English Empire" in America;<sup>9</sup> in the same year the General Assembly of Barbadoes represented to the Lords of Trade that the same act might "put an end to the British Empire in America";<sup>10</sup> and two years later another writer pleaded for laws favorable to the "British Empire in America".<sup>11</sup> In 1734, Governor

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade*, 1690 (*A Reprint of Economic Tracts*, Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 30f.).

<sup>4</sup> John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, etc. (London, 1708), I. xxx, xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Boston, Aug. 12, 1709, C. O. 5: 9.

<sup>6</sup> July 5, 1711, C. O. 5: 10. Cf. similar address, Oct. 17, 1711, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce*, etc. (London, 1728), p. xiii.

<sup>8</sup> *Directions to judge whether a Nation to be in a Thriving Condition*, etc. (London, 1729), p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> *A Short Answer to an Elaborate Pamphlet . . . shewing that the Bill . . . tends to the Impoverishing and Ruin of those Colonies, the Weakening of the Power of the English Empire in those Parts*, etc. (London, 1731), title.

<sup>10</sup> C. O. 5: 4, Aug. 27, 1731. There is a passage in Joshua Gee's *Trade and Navigation Considered* (London, 1730), p. 79, in which he speaks of England as "the head and seat of the English Empire", but it is a little ambiguous just what he means.

<sup>11</sup> *Proposals offered for the Sugar Planters Redress*, etc. (London, 1733), p. 4.

Belcher wrote to Oglethorpe congratulating him on having made, in the colony of Georgia, "a fine addition to the British Empire in America", and used the same term in writing to the Lords of Trade in 1740.<sup>12</sup> In 1743, John Ashley uses the term frequently and with even wider inclusiveness. "No Nation in the World", he writes, "is more commodiously situated for Trade or War, than the British Empire, taking all together as one Body, viz. Great Britain, Ireland, and the Plantations and Fishery in America, besides its Possessions in the East Indies and Africa." He speaks many times of the colonies as "branches" of the empire, or "the junior branches of this great empire".<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, there had been a second edition, in 1741, of Oldmixon's history of *The British Empire in America* showing the continued popularity of that book.

In the next decade, the use of the term as including the colonies is very frequent. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1755, a writer, after describing the colonies, says "such is the British Empire in North America, which from Nova Scotia to Georgia is a tract of 1600 miles".<sup>14</sup> Huske speaks of "his Majesty's Northern Colonies in particular and the British Empire in general", and of the continental-West Indian situation as calling for the "most vigorous efforts of the combined nerves of the whole Empire".<sup>15</sup> Another writer, in the same year, speaks of the "British Empire in America" being divided into many considerable settlements; another hopes that Georgia will "prove a useful barrier of the British Empire in North America"; a third carries the bounds of "the British Empire in America" out to the "great western ocean".<sup>16</sup> Yet another complains that the colonies under their charters act as though they were independent states "rather than as provinces of the same empire",<sup>17</sup> and in the same year there began to appear in numbers a *New and Complete History of the British Empire in America*.<sup>18</sup> It is not necessary to multiply instances from this time onward. Several more

<sup>12</sup> *Belcher Papers*, II. 69, 349.

<sup>13</sup> John Ashley, *The Second Part of Memoirs and Considerations . . . to shew that . . . the Traffick, Wealth and Strength of the whole British Empire may thereby be greatly increased* (London, 1743), pp. vii, xii, 2, 72, 77 n., 78, 94, 95, 96, 100, 101.

<sup>14</sup> XXV. 18. This article was reprinted the following month in the *Scots Magazine*, XVII. 77.

<sup>15</sup> John Huske, *The Present State of North America*, pt. I., second ed. (London, 1755), pp. 72, 77.

<sup>16</sup> *Miscellaneous Correspondence* (London, 1759), vol. I. (1755), pp. 56, 95; *Scots Magazine*, XVII. 224.

<sup>17</sup> *State of the British and French Colonies*, etc. (London, 1755), p. 57.

<sup>18</sup> London, 1755. It was never completed, perhaps owing to the war.



could be given before we find Franklin describing the North American colonies "as the frontier of the British Empire on that side".<sup>19</sup> From the end of the Seven Years' War, the term becomes the usual one employed, and—with increasing frequency—without the adjective. The reason for this is probably to be found quite as much in the Treaty of Hubertsburg as in that of Paris. Until the end of that war, "the empire" in the common parlance of Europe was, of course, that Holy Roman Empire that had survived through the ages, but which ceased thereafter to be of importance, although it lasted nominally until 1806. The coincidence of its downfall with the enormous expansion of the British Empire allowed the latter to discard its qualifying adjective and, in turn, to become merely "*the* empire" to its citizens. That throughout the whole eighteenth century, however, the term "British Empire" was held by many to have included far more than merely Great Britain seems to me to be shown by the citations given, citations gleaned in the pursuit of quite other objects and which could probably be multiplied many times by those more familiar with the whole economic literature of the period.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.

#### A ROUGH SECRET JOURNAL OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

AMONG the papers of the Continental Congress transferred from the Department of State to the Library of Congress by the Executive Order of December 19, 1921, is a folio blank-book—of 46 leaves, 39 of which are written upon—in the original paper covers, hideous with floral decoration. All but five of the written pages (two and a half leaves) are in the writing of Charles Thomson, the five are in that of George Bond, deputy secretary.

This volume is a hitherto unknown and unrecorded Rough Secret Journal of the Continental Congress and contains the proceedings of Congress on various dates from September 17, 1776, to January 1, 1779, inclusive, relating to foreign affairs. It is the original from which the first part of the Secret Journal (no. 6, of the *Bulletin of the State Department* list of the Continental Congress Papers, Sept. 17, 1776, to Sept. 16, 1788 [imperfect]) was transcribed. From September 17, 1776, to May 12, 1777, inclusive, of no. 6, is included in this Rough Secret Journal. Other material in the volume, such as the letter to King Louis XVI. of October 26, 1778, instructions to Benjamin Franklin, of the same date, a plan of attack on Quebec, and Observations on the Finances of America, are all to be found in the

<sup>19</sup> *The Interest of Great Britain considered* (London, 1761).

various other manuscript journals of the Congress and have been duly printed, though not always in accordance with the dates given in this Rough Secret Journal, in the Library of Congress edition of the *Journals* of the Continental Congress. In this printed edition of the *Journals* the dates invariably used are those of the adopted measure.

The variations found may be of interest and are as follows:

- Sept. 17, 1776, Plan of a treaty with France—a few, very slight, verbal differences, of no consequence.
- Sept. 17, 1776, Instructions to Franklin—printed in L. C. edition of the *Journals* under the date when agreed to, Sept. 24.
- Sept. 17, 1776, Commission to Franklin—printed in L. C. edition as “Letter of Credence” under date when agreed to, Sept. 28.
- Jan. 2, 1777, Form of commission to Franklin to the court of Spain—printed in L. C. edition from a former *printed* edition of the *Journals*, under the proceedings of July 1, 1777.
- June 5, 1777, Commission to Arthur Lee—follows, in this Rough Secret Journal, the proceedings of May 12, 1777.
- July 1, 1777, Commission to William Lee, is followed by the instructions to him and these instructions are followed by the instructions to Ralph Izard, dated in blank. These June 5 and July 1 entries are printed in the L. C. edition from a former *printed* edition of the *Secret Journals* under the proceedings of July 1, 1777.
- Oct. 26, 1778, Letter of Credence for Franklin, to the King of France—printed in L. C. edition from a copy by Gouverneur Morris, in the Papers of the Continental Congress, no. 25, 1, folio 35 (undated), under the proceedings of Oct. 21, 1778. The instructions to Franklin, with this letter of credence, follow the letter in this Rough Secret Journal, and are dated Oct. 26. They are printed in the L. C. edition under the proceedings of Oct. 22. The Plan of Attack on Quebec follows Franklin’s instructions in this Rough Secret Journal. It is printed in the L. C. edition under the proceedings of Oct. 22. The Observations on the Finances of America follow the Plan of Attack and are also printed in the L. C. edition under the proceedings of Oct. 22.

The principal value of all this lies, of course, in now having these copies in the handwriting of Thomson for the papers which we have hitherto been obliged to print from former printed copies. This Rough Secret Journal now furnishes the original, official manuscript for the first time.

It is, however, in the entry in the back of this volume that the highest interest and value centres, for here Charles Thomson has copied out the important Agreement of Secrecy of November 9, 1775, with a transcript of the signatures of all the members who signed that agreement between November 9, 1775 and June 28, 1777. But to this Thomson copy in this volume *thirteen* additional members have affixed their *original signatures* instead of putting them to the separate paper signed by eighty-six of their colleagues. These thirteen are:

Richard Law, of Connecticut; Nathaniel Folsom, of New Hampshire, who signed July 21, 1777; Cornelius Harnett, of North Carolina, who signed July 23, 1777; Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, who signed July 29, 1777; Daniel Roberdeau, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Jones, of Virginia, who signed August 16, 1777; John Harvie, of Virginia, who signed October 23, 1777; Francis Dana, of Massachusetts; William Clingan, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Wood, of Georgia; Edward Langworthy, of Georgia; John Henry, jr., of Maryland, and James Forbes, of Maryland.

The presence of these original signatures with this Thomson copy makes it fully as important an original as the separately signed document, the body of which is also in Thomson's handwriting.

This hitherto unrecorded volume of the Journals seems to have experienced the same forgetfulness or neglect as that accorded to the Agreement signed by eighty-six of the delegates. It is, of course, possible that this volume is the one that, in Thomson's original arrangement of the papers in his office, was considered as preceding no. 4 of the Department of State's list of the Continental Congress Papers, to wit, Secret Journal, Foreign and Domestic, 1780, October 18 to 1786, March 29; but, in view of the fact that such a large part of it is transcribed, as noted above, in the beginning of no. 6 of that list, it has been deemed best to record it as no. 6A of the Papers of the Continental Congress. In the proper chronology of its creation it antedates no. 6.

JOHN C. FITZPATRICK.

#### NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

A NATIONAL Council for the Social Studies completed its organization in Chicago on February 25. Its purpose is to lay the foundations for training democratic citizens; and its sponsors believe that such training can result only from a carefully developed and adequately supported system of teaching in the elementary and secondary schools. Its plan looks to promoting co-operation among those who are responsible for such training, including at least the university departments which contribute knowledge of facts and principles to civic education; and the leading groups of educational leaders, such as principals, superintendents, and professors of education, who develop the methods of handling these facts.

An advisory board was set up, composed of representatives of (1) the five associations of scholars most nearly related to the purpose of the National Council—historians, economists, political scientists, sociologists, and geographers; (2) the national organizations of educational investigators and administrators—elementary and high school

principals, teachers of education, normal school principals, and superintendents; and (3) regional associations of teachers of history and civics. The function of this advisory board is to bring into the National Council the points of view of the organizations represented by its members and to insure a development of the social studies which will be in harmony with the best educational thought as well as based on the best present practice.

The following officers were elected for the year 1922-1923: L. C. Marshall, professor of economics in the University of Chicago, president; Henry Johnson, professor of history in Teachers College, vice-president; Edgar Dawson, professor of government in Hunter College, secretary-treasurer; E. U. Rugg, Lincoln School, New York, assistant secretary. An executive committee, charged with the general direction of the policies of the association, will consist of the officers and the following elected members: C. A. Coulomb, district superintendent, Philadelphia; W. H. Hathaway, Riverside High School, Milwaukee; Bessie L. Pierce, Iowa University High School.

The first task the National Council is undertaking is the preparation of a Finding-List of those experiments or undertakings in the teaching of the social studies which now give promise of being useful. This list will contain such exposition of the character and aims of these experiments as to make it possible for those working along parallel lines to discover each other and to co-operate more fully than would otherwise be probable. This expository material will have another purpose—that of indicating outstanding differences of opinion and programme in order that these differences may be systematically stated for purposes of analysis and discussion.

To aid in the discovery and assessment of these experiments, the National Council has in preparation a list of "Key Men and Women" who will be appointed in the various states to represent the National Council in its efforts to collect useful information and then to give currency to it. While this organization seems to represent all the elements out of which the best development of the social studies must proceed, the most useful work will be done only with the co-operation of teachers and investigators in all parts of the country to the end that lost motion and useless repetition may be eliminated and that mutually strengthening experiments may be pressed forward.

Persons who are interested in the wholesome development of the social studies, whether teachers or others, and if teachers, whether teachers of the social subjects or of some other subject, are urged to communicate at the earliest convenient moment with the secretary of the National Council, Edgar Dawson, 671 Park Avenue, New York City.

E. D.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613-1631, I.*

LIONEL CRANFIELD, first earl of Middlesex, was lord treasurer from September 30, 1622, to May 13, 1624, and thus during nearly all the *Sturm und Drang* period of the history of the Virginia Company, and before that he had been for several years surveyor general of the customs. Many papers respecting the company and respecting Virginia came therefore into his hands, and when he retired from office he took many with him, according to the custom of the time. The second and third earls dying, these papers came to the hands of his daughter Frances, who married Richard, fifth earl of Dorset, whose father Edward, fourth earl, had, as Sir Edward Sackville, played an important part in the Virginia Company. Therefore Charles, the sixth earl, the poet, son of Richard Sackville and Frances Cranfield, may have inherited Virginian papers from the Sackville house as well as from that of his mother. From him Cranfield's papers descended to his son, grandson, and great grandson, the first, second, and third dukes of Dorset. While they were in the hands of the third duke, who was ambassador to France from 1783 to 1789, and died in 1799, they were examined by Dr. Peter Peckard, master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, when he was preparing his *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge, 1790).<sup>1</sup>

John Ferrar, in the biographical sketch which is the foundation of Peckard's book, in speaking of the two volumes of records of the Virginia Company, which Nicholas Ferrar had prepared for the Earl of Southampton (the same volumes which are now in the possession of the Library of Congress, and which it has printed under the editorship of Miss Kingsbury), says that Southampton entrusted them to Sir Richard Killigrew, and he to the fourth Earl of Dorset, "and it is hoped that this noble family still hath them in safe keeping".<sup>2</sup> Upon this, Peckard says in a foot-note, "On application to the [third] Duke of Dorset, his Grace with the utmost liberality of mind and most polite condescension, directed his library to be searched for this manuscript. The search was fruitless; but some

<sup>1</sup> Peckard, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> John Ferrar, writing after 1646, in Peckard, *ibid.*

detached papers were found which his Grace most obligingly sent to me". He describes them as consisting of separate documents, numbered (perhaps he means by himself) from 1 to 21. He gives the text of three or four, and summarizes some of the others.

From the third duke, or from his son, the fourth, Cranfield's papers passed into the possession of his daughter, who married the fifth Earl De La Warr, representative of another family notably concerned in the early colonization of Virginia, though it does not appear that additional papers came from this source.

While the papers were in the possession of the sixth Earl De La Warr, who died in 1873, his papers were examined by an agent of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and the main portion of them is described at length in the *Fourth Report* of that commission, appendix, part I. (1874).<sup>3</sup> The remainder were described in the *Seventh Report*, appendix, part I. (1879),<sup>4</sup> as papers of Lord Sackville, for in the meantime they had passed into the possession of the fourth son of the fifth Earl De La Warr, who had inherited the estate of Knole Park and had been created Baron Sackville. From him the papers passed to his younger brother and heir, the second Lord Sackville, better known in the United States as Hon. Lionel Sackville-West, British minister to the United States 1881-1888, and to the present possessor, his nephew, the third Lord Sackville.

When Miss Kingsbury was preparing her edition of the *Records of the Virginia Company*, she was informed by a member of the family that the then possessor knew of "no other papers at Knole relating to the colony of Virginia than those mentioned in the report of the commissioners", four in number. Professor A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, has however been so fortunate as to obtain from the present Lord Sackville the opportunity to conduct a more careful search, which has resulted in the discovery of some threescore documents, and to have copies of them made. These Professor Newton has been so good as to place at the disposal of the *American Historical Review*, and they are presented in this number and the succeeding number, with the exception of the very few that are already in print.<sup>5</sup> Grateful acknowledgments are made to him, and to Lord Sackville.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 276-317. <sup>4</sup> Pp. 249-260.

<sup>5</sup> No. 6215, "A note of the shipping, men, and provisions sent to Virginia by the Treasurer and Companie in the year 1619", nearly identical with that printed in Force's *Historical Tracts*, III., no. 5; nos. 6174 and 6175, letter of Governor Yeardley and council to the Virginia Company, Jan. 23, 1621, and "the humble petition of the distressed colony in Virginia", printed together in Peckard, pp. 157-159 (his no. 21); no. 6187, order in council respecting tobacco,

The group embraces all but four (nos. 1, 2, 5 and 14) of the 21 mentioned by Peckard, and of these he gives the text of no. 1<sup>6</sup> and a brief description of no. 5. His nos. 7 and 18 are number XXIX. below; his no. 15 is our VI.; his no. 16 our XXVIII.; his nos. 3, 4, 6, 8-13, 17, 19, 20, and 21 will appear in our second installment. His numbers are written in red ink.

The documents, as will be seen, are of various quality. The most important illustrate the struggles which the Company went through with respect to the tobacco contract; others relate to importations of tobacco in general, to cattle claimed by Samuel Argall and others and by the Company, or to the provision of arms after the massacre, or are letters or petitions of colonists or of Sir Edwin Sandys or of other members of the Company. It has seemed best to print all, as exhausting this source of knowledge respecting early Virginia, to which indeed several papers make signal additions, while all illustrate economic conditions or procedure. The best method of arrangement has seemed to be to form three groups, and to relegate to the third, as bearing on the latter part of the Company's history, those which concern its relations to the contract for the importation of tobacco, while assigning to the first those which are miscellaneous illustrations of early Virginia history, and to the second those which relate to tobacco in general. The first two groups are printed in the present number; the third will appear in that of July.

Most of the transcripts, as they come to us, bear numbers indicating their place in Lord Sackville's collection, and these numbers have been mentioned in the foot-notes. A few documents are not thus designated. It will be understood that the dates are all of old style, unless the contrary is indicated.

#### A. MISCELLANEOUS.

##### I. CUSTOMS ENTRIES FROM VIRGINIA AND BERMUDA, 1613-1614.<sup>7</sup>

###### *Customs*

###### *Inwardes*

Goodes and marchandiezes entred from the Sumer Ilands and Virginia.

July 30, 1621, printed in *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, I. 43-44; and parts of drafts of the Propositions regarding tobacco which duplicate those printed in *Records of the Virginia Company*, II. 58-59, 86-88, under date of June 29 and July 3, 1622. Professor Newton writes, "There are also to be found among the Knole papers printed copies of various proclamations relating to Virginia, the Bermudas, and Tobacco. These have not been copied as they are accessible elsewhere".

<sup>6</sup> P. 162.

<sup>7</sup> Doc. no. 6203 in Lord Sackville's collection.



	Valor	Subsidy
Vicesimo quarto die Septembris Anno Domini 1613		
In le <i>Martha</i> of London, Tho. Bab, master, a Somers Ilands.		
Sir Thomas Smith etc. 1 chest containing viii <sup>c</sup> lxvi ounces am- ber greece <sup>8</sup>	xxv <sup>c</sup> iiiii <sup>xx</sup> xviii <i>li</i> .	i <sup>c</sup> xxix <i>li</i> . xviii <i>s</i> .
xxxi <sup>c</sup> Maii 1614		
In le <i>Elizabeth</i> of London, Robert Adams, master, <sup>9</sup> a Barmudos.		
Idem Sir Thomas etc., 1 caske containing i <sup>c</sup> xxxiii <i>l</i> . of white corrall, box containing ii <sup>c</sup> vii ounces of amber greece, cer- tain caske containing xxi <sup>c</sup> xxviii <i>l</i> . sasaffrax rootes, viii Firkings sturgeon, iii <sup>c</sup> wt. cavi- are	viii <sup>c</sup> xxxvi <i>l</i> . xiii <i>s</i> . xli <i>l</i> . xvi <i>s</i> . viii <i>d</i> . ob.	
In le <i>Elizabeth</i> Idem, Sir Thomas etc. iiiii barells containing i <sup>c</sup> lxx pound pudding tobacco	iiii <sup>xx</sup> v <i>l</i> .	iiii <i>l</i> . v <i>s</i> .
xxi <sup>c</sup> July 1614		
In le <i>Margret</i> of London, Tho. Bab, master, a Bermudos		
Idem Sir Thomas etc. lxi pound pudding tobacco, i <sup>c</sup> xx ounces amber greece	iii <sup>c</sup> iiiii <sup>xx</sup> viii <i>l</i> .	xix <i>l</i> . viii <i>s</i> .

<sup>8</sup> Gondomar, in a despatch of Oct. 5 (N.S.), 1613, to Philip III., mentions the arrival of this ship from Bermuda, about six days before, say September 19 (O.S.), with sixty-four pounds of ambergris. John Chamberlain mentions it more fully; Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II. 661, 666. In a petition of Capt. Matthew Somers, 1622, it is said that the whole cake found was of 160 lbs. weight, worth £12,000. *Records of the Virginia Company*, II. 46. See, for the story of its finding, Smith, *Generall Historie*, pp. 176-178. The account here is for 54¾ lbs. (866 oz.), at £3 an ounce (£2598), and the subsidy or duty, at 5 per cent., was £129 18s. Capt. Thomas Babb of Wapping was afterward, 1635, associated with Edward Trelawny in Maine, *Doc. Hist. Maine*, III. 80; a petition from his wife is in *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 261.

<sup>9</sup> The *Elizabeth* sailed for Virginia in October, 1613, and sailed thence for England in March, 1614, bringing Sir Thomas Gates. Brown, *Genesis*, II. 659, 675, 689, 724. Capt. Robert Adams had made voyages to Virginia every year from 1609 to 1614. Later, from 1617 to 1633, he was in the service of the East India Co. *Cal. S. P. Col.*, E. I., and *Diary of Richard Cocks* (Hakluyt Soc.), *passim*; *Court Minutes*, 1635-1639, p. 155.

xxxii<sup>o</sup> Augustii 1614

In le *Treasure*<sup>10</sup> of London, Griffen Purnell master, a Virginia

Idem Sir Thomas etc. i<sup>c</sup> lxxv  
beaver skinns, xviii otter skinns,  
ii Elke or Losh<sup>11</sup> hides, v wild  
catt skinns, i deare skins, xiii

tonn cedar tree tymber lix l. xiiii s. x d. lix s. ix d.

Summa totalis i<sup>c</sup> iii<sup>xx</sup> xviii l. vii s. v d. ob.

II. ALLOWANCE FOR CUSTOMS DUTIES NOT LEVIED, DECEMBER 24, 1611-1618.<sup>12</sup>

Defalcacion<sup>13</sup> made to the Farmers of the Customes for the Subsidy of goodes and comodytyes brought from Virginia and the Somer Ilands and caryed thither in the severall yeares underwrytten viz:

In the yeare ended xxiii<sup>o</sup> die Dec 1618 anno xvi<sup>o</sup> Regis Jacobi for 48572 pound of puddinge Tobacco, 956 pound of leafe Tobacco and diverse other comodytyes Inwardes m cclx li. vii s. xi d. And outwards lxxi li. xviii s. v [qu. ix?] d. In all

mcccxxxii li. vi s. viii d.

In the yeare ended xxiii<sup>o</sup> die December 1617 for 18839 pound of Tobaceo and diverse other comodytyes Inwardes iii<sup>o</sup> iii<sup>xx</sup> vii li. iii s. iii d. And for comodyties transported thither xliiii li. i d. ob'q. in all

v<sup>c</sup> xxxi li. iii s. v d. ob'q.

In the yeare ended xxiii<sup>o</sup> December 1616 for 2300 pound of Tobacco brought from Virginia and diverse other comodytyes as well Inwardes as outwards

cxxv li. iii s. iii d. ob'q.

In the yeare ended xxiii<sup>o</sup> Dec. 1615 for diverse comodytyes Inwardes but no Tobacco

xxviii li. x s. x d.

In the yeare ended xxiii<sup>o</sup> Dec. 1614 for

<sup>10</sup> *Treasurer*, Argall's ship.

<sup>11</sup> Losh hides were hides untanned, wash-leather.

<sup>12</sup> No. 6176.

<sup>13</sup> A defalcation was an abatement, allowance, or set-off. In this case the allowance was made to the farmers of the customs because under its patent of 1612 the Virginia Company was exempt from the payment of duties on its imports into England and its exports from England until Mar. 12, 1619. But for that exemption the farmers of the customs, under King James's Book of Rates of 1608, would have been entitled to receive, as poundage, sixpence a pound for roll tobacco and fourpence for leaf tobacco. Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, pp. 109, 111. The allowances therefore due to them are here calculated for Sir Lionel Cranfield, who on July 26, 1613, had become surveyor-general of the customs.

1193 ounces of Ambergreece and other comodytyes but no Tobacco	c iiii <sup>xx</sup> xviii li. vii s. v d. ob.
In the yeare ended xxiii Decembris 1613	nihil
In the yeare ended xxiii Dec. 1612	nihil

[*Endorsed in the hand of Sir Lionel Cranfield:*] Certificate what defalcation the Farmeres have had for Goodes exported and imported to Virginia.

III. SIR EDWIN SANDYS TO SIR LIONEL CRANFIELD, SEPTEMBER 9, 1619.<sup>14</sup>

Sir

It was my good fortune to fynd you at home, when I had occasion to have experience of your good love and favour, but when afterward I was desirous to expresse unto you my affectionate thankfulness for the same, it was my ill fortune, that when I sent or came you were abroad. I have therefore (conceiving that together with the end of the progresse<sup>15</sup> you are returned to the Cittie) in supplie of my present absence, dispatched these few lines to prezent my thankfull affection and assured service to you which, were there abilitie in me correspondant to my will, should not rest barren, but approve to you that your courtesies are far from beeing sowne on a soile unthankfull. It will not be long now, ere I wayt upon you. From hence<sup>16</sup> there is nothing woorth the advertizing, but (which is my care) that by a ship lately returned, I understand that all stands well in Virginia: the people encrease apace, and they folo their labours. We have nuely sent them a supplie of 100 good men for the Publick:<sup>17</sup> a part of that Commonwealth hetherto too much neglected, and I would that neglect had been all the falt. But falts must be mended, and so an end of their memories. I am enjoyned by my wife, together with my owne, to prezent also hir thanks and best respect unto you and to signifie to you that your little Francis<sup>18</sup> is well, and if he were able would crave your

<sup>14</sup> No. 6206. Holograph. Sir Edwin Sandys (1561-1629), well known as one of the chief leaders in the Virginia Company and in the House of Commons, was assistant to the treasurer of the company, Sir Thomas Smyth, from early in 1617 to Apr. 28, 1619, and treasurer (chief officer) from that date to June 28, 1620.

<sup>15</sup> A progress in the midland counties, on which King James set out on July 19 and from which he returned to Windsor by Sept. 5. Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First*, III. 556-565.

<sup>16</sup> Northbourne in Kent, of which manor King James had in 1614 bestowed the moiety on Sir Edwin Sandys.

<sup>17</sup> I. e., the company's land, as distinguished from the plantations granted to individuals.

<sup>18</sup> Seventh and youngest son of Sir Edwin Sandys. *Visitation of Kent, 1619-1621* (Harleian Soc.), p. 148.

blessing. So Sir, I betake you to the happie tuition of the Highest and rest

Yours very assured to doo  
you his best service

EDWIN SANDYS

NORTHBORN

9 September 1619

[*Addressed:*] To my Honorable frend  
Sir Lionell Cranfeild, knight,  
Master of the Wards.<sup>19</sup>

IV. A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY, MARCH 15,  
1620.<sup>20</sup>

Att a meeting of the councell att Mr. Farrer's the 15th of March 1619 where was presente Mr. Threasuror,<sup>21</sup> my Lord of Warwick, Mr. John Wroth, Sir Tho. Roe, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Tho. Gats, Sir Fardinando Gorge, Sir John Danvers, Sir John Worsenholme, Sir Nathaniell Rich, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Recorder,<sup>22</sup> Alder. Johnson, Mr. Morris Abbott, Mr. Offlie, Mr. Farrer deputy.

Sir Edwin Sands produced first a paper of lawes or orders to bee sent into Virginia drawne out of former Orders of late Courts.

Secondly hee red a letter which he had drawne to Sir George Yearley<sup>23</sup> faire ingrossed and signed with his owne hand and Sir John Danvers with one or two more, in which letter were divers sharpe and bitter touches against Captain Argall and in the speciall Sir Edw. Sands without any order of Councell had directed Sir George Yearley to seize divers of Captain Argall's Cattell and to dispose of them to other persons which was generally much misliked and held unjust both to touch a gentleman

<sup>19</sup> Cranfield had become master of the court of wards Jan. 15, 1619.

<sup>20</sup> The "Court Book" (*Records of Va. Co.*, I. 319-322) gives the record of a general meeting of the company on Mar. 15, and makes mention of a meeting of the council on the 17th, but not of one on the 15th. The record of the next meeting of the company, however, Mar. 20 (I. 323), seems to refer to the council meeting here recorded. The place of meeting was the house, in St. Sithes Lane, of Nicholas Ferrar the elder, father of John Ferrar who was deputy treasurer from 1619 to 1622 and of Nicholas who succeeded him in that office. "The Virginia courts after this", says John Ferrar (Peckard, *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 85), meaning after the election of Sandys in April, 1619, "were kept at the house of Mr. Ferrar the father, who from his singular affection for that honourable company, himself being one of the first adventurers of that plantation and the Somers Islands, allowed them the use of his great hall and other best rooms of his house to hold their weekly and daily meetings". Nicholas Ferrar the elder died in the next month, April, 1620.

<sup>21</sup> Sir Edwin Sandys.

<sup>22</sup> Sir Robert Heath.

<sup>23</sup> Yeardley, governor of Virginia 1618-1621, 1626-1627. The matter of the cattle claimed by Argall is further illustrated by docs. nos. V., XVI.-XXI., below.

in his reputation before he had his tryalle of those things whereof he stands accused and alsoe it was held most unjust to proceed to a kinde of execution before sentence given which were both altered. Yet Captain Argall give his consent that for the present those cattell mencioned in the letter should be disposed of to some of the generalitie for the better Sustentation with direction to the Governor to provide for their well looking to them and restoring them if they fell out to bee his and accordingly Mr. Recorder was requested to drawe that parte of the letter which he did and being redd was allowed. Captain Argall presented a Petition consisting of three branches, 1, that he might have all his accusations ere he put in any more answers. To this itt was answered and resolved that he should putt in his answers forthwith to the accusations which already he had which contayned fully 2 partes of his whole accusations being divided unto 3 private wrongs, first concerning the estate, 2lie deprivation of the Collony.<sup>24</sup> Now for that this last did not depend on the former and by some namely Sir Dudley Diggs not thought fitt at all to be questioned before complaint made, Therefore hee havinge received fully the accusations of the two first kinds wee resolved he should putt in his answer to them and so be noe further charged in that kinde save only he must staye for a hearinge untill the returne of the *Bona Nova* every daye expected<sup>25</sup> because by the shipp wee expect returne of the comissions which were sent into Virginia to examine witnesses of which profes wee are to make use of, and if these profes come not by that shipp then to proceed to a finall hearing and determination of the Cause without any further or after questioninge. And as sone as Captain Argall had putt in his answers it was ordered, that he should have a Comission to examine what witnesses he would and as was limited by the Letters Pattentes by which Letters Pattentes if itt were requisitte that the Threasuror should be one that must take those depositions then the Treasuror and such other as Captain Argall should choase and take the sayd examinations, But if it were soe that others of the Councell without the Treasuror might take the sayd examination that then Captain Argall might chose whom of the Councell he would to be his Comissioners.<sup>26</sup> the 3 poynt of his petition was that his bussines in Virginia and his Plantation cattle etc. might stand on the same foote that he left them without alteration which was formerly thought just not to proceed to the execution before sentence, only by his Consent the disposing of some of his cattell was ordered as aforesayd.

[*Endorsed:*] A Meeting of the councell att Mr. Farrar's house, 15<sup>o</sup> Mart. 1619.

<sup>24</sup> His supersession as governor by Yeardley, elected Nov. 18, 1618, arrived in Virginia Apr. 18, 1619. Argall, forewarned, sailed away ten or twelve days earlier. Smith, *Generall Historie*, p. 126.

<sup>25</sup> The *Bona Nova* did not arrive till June. *Records of Va. Co.*, I. 369.

<sup>26</sup> Arranged for at the extraordinary court of Mar. 20. *Ibid.*, I. 324.

V. ORDER IN VIRGINIA RESPECTING CATTLE CLAIMED BY ARGALL, SEPTEMBER  
26, 1620.

An order set downe by the Governor and Counsell of State in Virginia  
about the disposing of certaine Kynne in that country claymed by  
Captain Sam. Argall and of their Increase.

Wheras his Majestie's Councell for Virginia in England towards the  
conclusion of a letter of theirs dated att London the 15th of March 1619:  
and directed to me George Yearly knight, Governor and Captaine gen-  
erall of Virginia, by the good shipp the *London Marchant*, weare pleased  
to writt these wordes following

"Yett in perticuler wee may not omitt, which wee doe conceive may  
much availle to farther the publique plantacion, that wheras Captain Argall  
hath disposed of the kyne as hys owne, which before belonged to the Com-  
pany and of which kyne, as conceiving them to bee the Company's, wee  
gave promise and order for ten to have bine lent to Smith's hundred and  
as many to Marttin's hundred, and six to Captain Lawne, and yet wee  
fynd complaint made of the not performance therof, wherby the publique  
Plantacion hath bine hindred: of which amongst other thinges, Captain  
Argall standeth accused, and he standeth uppon his justificacion wherin  
wee may not in justice either condempe or acquit him, before the Maturity  
of Tyme and due proceedinges shall bring the cause to Judgment, never-  
theles in the meanetye without prejudice to the cause, Captain Argall  
himself now present in Courte consenting their unto, wee praie and re-  
quest you with the assistance of the Councell their and other officers  
requisitt, leaving six of your kynne with your Captain Marchant<sup>27</sup> as the  
undoubted goodes of Captain Argall, to take the rest with the increase and  
to dispose of them according to the former graunts or intentions of the  
Company and the remainder to distribut equally among the Tennantes of  
the Governor, the Colledge<sup>28</sup> and Company least they also should perish  
for want of necessary releife. And our spetiall directions are that all  
those kynne with ther ofspring be well kept and preserved that they may  
hereafter be disposed off absolutely either to the company or to Captain  
Argall as to Justice shall appertaine uppon heareing of the cause."

I the said Governor with the Assistance of the Councell of State here  
resident and of other requisit officers, doe (as I am enjoyned out of the  
premisses) by way of love dispose of the said kynne with ther increase  
which are in all

Cowes	19
Hayfers	14
Steires	3
Bulls	2
Young calves of this yeare	21

<sup>27</sup> Cape merchant, superintendent of the corporate trading.

<sup>28</sup> The college or university at Henrico, for which ten thousand acres of  
land had been set aside by the company in 1618. Neill, *Virginia Company*, p. 137.

As followeth vizt.:

To Smith's hundred	10
To Martin's hundred	10
To the Captain Marchant	6
To Captain Geo Thorpe for the plantation of Brackley <sup>29</sup>	3
To Mr. John Pountis <sup>30</sup> for a debt of 75 l. due from the Company originally to George Lyle, and now by assignment from him to John Woodall, <sup>31</sup> as appeareth out of three severall orders from the company and a letter of Attor- ney from the said John Woodall to Mr. Pountis aforesaid	4 coves 15 calves 1 bull

The remainder being 3 steires, one bull and 6 calves, wee hold fitt to retaine here in the Iland of James Citty, till they shalbe of fitt growth to be disposed off.

To Captain Lawne's plantacion wee have not disposed of any of the said catle because Captain Lawne is dead, his plantacion is disolved, and no man ther left to take charge of the same cattle.<sup>32</sup>

In wittnes and confirmacion wherof wee the Governor and Councill have to these present sett our handes and the signett of the Collony. Given at James Citty September 26th 1620.

GEORGE YEARDLY  
NATHA. POWLE  
GEORG THORPE

JOHN ROLFE  
SAM. MACOCKE  
Jo. PORY Secr:

*Copy*

[*Endorsed:*] Disposing of Captain Argols cattle by the Governor and Councill in Virginia. 26<sup>o</sup> September, 1620.

VI. SIR PETER VAN LOORE TO LORD TREASURER CRANFIELD, NOVEMBER 12,  
1621.<sup>33</sup>

*Right honorable and my verie good Lord,*

The care wee have upon the buisenes which I (and the rest of those your lordship knoweth) have undertaken doth move me (in all our names)

<sup>29</sup> Berkeley. Capt. George Thorpe was associated with Governor Yeardley, Sir William Throckmorton, Richard Berkeley, and John Smith of Nibley in the partnership for that plantation.

<sup>30</sup> A member of the council, later vice-admiral in Virginia.

<sup>31</sup> Surgeon and writer on surgery (d. 1643), and a member of the Virginia Company. See no. XVI. *post*.

<sup>32</sup> Capt. Christopher Lawne's plantation was on Lawne's Creek in Isle of Wight County. Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 205. He was a member of the assembly of 1619, but his executors are mentioned in the company's records of June 28, 1620. *Records*, I. 381.

<sup>33</sup> No. 6168. Peter van Loore was a Dutch jeweller and money-lender in



to sollicite your Lordship that wee may have that warrant or order which your Lordship promised us. Upon Satturdaie last I was very willing to have come to your Lordship myselfe. But indeed I have this daie gotten an extreame colde on the Thamis this morninge hopinge to have found your lordship att Westminster this morninge as aforesaid. Your lordship knoweth how this buisenes is recommended by his Majestie and how much it doth concerne your lordship to see it effected, and that the tyme doth requier speed. So not doubtinge of your Lordship to see this despatched with all speed, I humblie rest

Your Lordship's to commaund

PIETER VAN LOORE

LONDON, 12 November, 1621

[Endorsed by Richard Willis:]<sup>34</sup> 12 November, 1621. Sir Peter Van Lore letter to my Lord.

VII. MEMORANDUM OF ARMS, JULY (?), 1622.<sup>35</sup>

A note of such Armes as are in the Tower and Mynories<sup>36</sup> which the Virginia company are humble suitors to the Lordes for a warrant to receive them, their Shippes being ready to departe.

Briggandines <sup>37</sup>	100	} ar.*
Plate cotes	40	
Shirts and cotes of male	400	
Skulls of iron	2000	
Murdering peeces, <i>chambers, foulders, etc.</i> <sup>38</sup>	50	
Halberts and Browne bills	1000	
Bowes and Arrowes	2000	
Bucklers and Targetts	1000	ar.

So many of the Calivers, Musketts, Pistolls, Daggs,<sup>39</sup> etc. as out of London, knighted by King James Nov. 5. The connection of this letter with the affairs of the Virginia Company is not clear, but is inferred from the fact that it is one (no. 15) of the papers numbered in red ink, as mentioned in the introduction, above. Cranfield had become Lord Treasurer Oct. 13. Van Loore's chief business with him at the moment consisted in lending a large sum for the Palatinate. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1619-1623, pp. 308, 320.

<sup>34</sup> Richard Willis was Cranfield's secretary.

<sup>35</sup> No. 6218. The effort of the company to obtain arms from the king, through Sir Edward Sackville, and the royal response, are recounted under date of July 17, 1622, in *Records of Va. Co.*, II. 96. Another copy of this note is in State Papers, Colonial, James I., vol. II., no. 9; *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 32. The words in italics were added by Richard Willis.

<sup>36</sup> The Minories was a street in the east end of London, just outside Aldgate, noted for gunmakers.

<sup>37</sup> Coats of linen or leather on which overlapping scales of steel were sewed; a platecote was a coat of plate armor.

<sup>38</sup> Small pieces of ordnance.

<sup>39</sup> A caliver was a hand-firearm, lighter than a musket; a dag was a large pistol. Sir Richard Morrison was master-general of the ordnance.

the 2000 at Sir Richard Morrisons in the Minories shalbe serviceable and fitt for their use.

Also they are humble suitors for 20 Barrells of Powder to be delivered out of the Tower and lent the Company which Powder they will repay againe soone after christmas next.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Virginia, Armes.

VIII. LORD TREASURER'S WARRANT RESPECTING ARMS, JULY 29, 1622.<sup>40</sup>

After etc. His Majesty is graciously pleased upon the humble suite of the Governor and company for the plantacion in Virginia, to graunt unto them, one hundred Brigandines, fortie plate-cottes, foure hundred shirts and cotes of Maile and 2000 skulls of Iron, of those which remaine in your custody and chardge, and are out of use for the present tymes: which they are to receave as of his majesties princely guift and bountie, without anything to be paid for the same. These are therfore to will and require you, to make present delivery of the said severall parcells of armes, to such as they shall appoint to receave the same accordingly. For which his majestie's pleasure herby signified unto you, must be your warrant and discharge. From Whitehall the 29th of July 1622.

Subscribed by my Lord.

[*Directed:*] To Sir Wm. Cope, Knight, Master of the Armory and to his Deputie and Deputies and others whome the same may concerne.

IX. COMMISSIONERS OF ORDNANCE TO LORD TREASURER CRANFIELD, AUGUST 7, 1622.<sup>41</sup>

It may please your Lordship

Wee have according to your letters of direccion surveyed all the parcells of old armes remaining in the office of Armory mencioned in your Lordship's said letters, except the 500 Bucklers and Targets, wherein it seemeth the Petitioners were misinformed there being not any such at all decayed in that Office.

Of the old Brigandyns wee find in all	115
Of Plate Cotes or Jackes of Plate	050
Of Shirtes and Jerkins of Mayle	400
Of Skulls	2000

All which are not only old and much decayed but with their age growne also altogether unfit and of no use for moderne service. And for any other use save for that for which they are desired wee conceive them to bee of very little worth. But beeing required by your Lordship to deliver

<sup>40</sup> No. 6221. The order of the Privy Council authorizing this warrant, July 29, is printed in *Acts P. C. Colonial*, I. 54. Another copy is in the Public Record Office. C. O. 5: 1354, p. 202.

<sup>41</sup> No. 6217.

our opinions aswell for their goodnes and value as for their use, wee doe esteeme the said Brigandines at [*MS. imperfect*] the peece, the Shirtes of Maile at v s. the peece, the Jackes of Plate at iiii s. the peece, and the Sculls at iii d. the peece, amounting together to the some of one hundred three score eleven pounds and five shillings.

Soe wee humbly take leave and rest

At your Lordships comaundment

7 August 1622.

THO. SMYTHE

JOHN LEAY

JO. WOLSTENHOLME

RI. SUTTON

W. BURRELL

FRA. MORICE

ED. JOHNSON

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Commission[ers] for [Ordnance] their Certificate touching the decayed arms for the Virginia Company.

[*Addressed:*] To the right Hono'ble the Lord Cranfield,  
Lord High Treasurer of England.

X. MEMORANDUM OF ARMS, AUGUST (?), 1622.<sup>42</sup>

A note of the armes delivered by the Officers to the Courte to be in the Tower for the service of the Virginia Company, vizt.

Briggandines alias Plate Coates	280
Jackes of Plate	40
Jerkins or Shirtes of Maile	400
Sculls	2000
Besides swordes, Calivers and other pieces, pistolls and daggs	
Also Hallbertes what number they please	

[*Endorsed:*] A note of the armes which are to be delivered into the Tower for the service of the Virginia Company.

XI. ROBERT BENNETT TO EDWARD BENNETT, JUNE 9, 1623.<sup>43</sup>

From BENNETES WELLCOME this  
9th of June, 1623

*Loving Brother*

Yours Out of the *John and Frances*<sup>44</sup> I received with letters from

<sup>42</sup> No. 6219. The governor and council acknowledge the receipt of these arms, in a letter of Jan. 20, 1623. Neill, *Virginia Company*, p. 363.

<sup>43</sup> No. 6212. Edward Bennet, a London merchant, who dealt largely in tobacco, was listed in April, 1623, as one of 85 "adventurers that dislike the present proceedings of business in the Virginia and Somers Islands Companies". Brown, *Genesis*, II. 982. The plantation of Edward, Robert, and Richard Bennet, patented Nov. 21, 1621 (*Records*, I. 562), was at the Rock Wharf in what is now Burwell's Bay, on the south side of James River, in Isle of Wight County. Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 204. Robert Bennet was the father or uncle of Richard Bennet, governor of Virginia 1652-1655. See *Virginia Magazine of History*, XXV. 393. He died before Nov. 20, 1623, the date of a manuscript document preserved among the early Virginian records in the Library of Congress, "Records Va. Co. III.", p. 53, relating to debts of the late Robert Bennet.

<sup>44</sup> The *John and Francis*, 100 tons, had made several voyages to Virginia;

Edwarde Haresse and Robert Bennet out of Spain, the 27th of Maye the shippe arrived heare in saftie God be thancked, and out of her I received some 19 Buttes of exclent good wyne,<sup>45</sup> 750 jarse of oylle, 16 Barelles of Resones of the Sonne,<sup>46</sup> and 18 Barelles of Rysse, tooe halfe hoghedes of Allmondes, 3 halfe hoghedes of wheate and one which was staved at seae, 18 hoghedes of Olives and some 5 ferkenes of butter and one Chesse. Allso I received 1 chest and tooe barelles of Candells, with 3 packes of Linen Cloth marked in your marke and tooe dryfattles<sup>47</sup> of Mr. Kinge's. All these goodes came safe and well condisioned to my handes and the beste that I received since I came in to the lande, and I macke noe question but to macke you by God's helpe good profet one<sup>48</sup> them, and your retorne to sende you home in the same shipe. She is gone, God sende her well, for Canadaye but with her ladinge to retorn hether agene. For the yeare beinge soe fare spent I knowe that fysh will yealde more her thene<sup>49</sup> in Spayne and I knowe her frayght hom wilbe a great mater more, soe I hope I shall not incore your displeasures doinge as I hope all thinges to the best for your profet. My laste letter I wrotte you was in the *Adame* from Newfowndland the which I hope you have received er this. God sende her backe in saftye and this from Canaday. I hope the fyshe will come to a good reckning for vytelese<sup>50</sup> is verye scarce in the contrye. Your Newfowndland fyshe is worthe 30 s. per cente, your Drye Canada 3 l. 10 s. and the wette 5 l. 10 s. per cent, and I doe not knowe nor hier of anye that is comyng hether with fyshe but onlye the *Teger*, which wente in companye with the *Adam* from this plase and I knowe the contrye will carye awaye all this forthe with. Our men stande well to ther helthe God be thanckd and I hope to macke you a good crope, bothe for Tobacco and Corne. The Fortte is abuyldinge apase.<sup>51</sup> I hope yt wilbe a great strenthning unto us, for God sende us well to doe this yeare; the nexte year,

the commission for this present one was granted by the company Nov. 27, 1622 (*Records*, II. 156), and apparently she sailed in April, 1623 (II. 496).

<sup>45</sup> Governor Wyatt and the Virginia council, in a letter of Jan. 30, 1624, declare that Robert Bennet in his lifetime boasted that the mere sale of four butts of wine would clear a voyage. *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VI. 376.

<sup>46</sup> Raisins, then pronounced the same as *reasons*. "If reasons were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a reason upon compulsion", says Falstaff.

<sup>47</sup> Packing cases. This Mr. King was perhaps the one who went out to Virginia in 1620 to establish iron-works. *Records of Va. Co.*, I. 322.

<sup>48</sup> On.

<sup>49</sup> Here than.

<sup>50</sup> Victuals. "Per sente" means per hundredweight, presumably of 112 pounds.

<sup>51</sup> Roger Smith, who had spent twelve or thirteen years in the wars in the Low Countries, is commissioned to build a fort at Wariskoyack, upon the river shore, by a document of May 11, 1623, preserved in the manuscript mentioned in note 43, at p. 40, and there are provisions respecting labor for the work. Apr. 29, May 13. *ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

God willinge, we meane to seatte by them and sette out all this lande, and howsses. Therefore praye lette me intreat you to wrytte me at large whether Capten Basse<sup>52</sup> or Leftenant Barklye or anye other have anye thinge to doe or claym anye lande as ther ryghte, for I macke noe question yf plesse God but to blese us this yeare the nexte to have tooe or three hondred men more into our plantasions to be our terretory for yt is the beste state in all the lande, and not the lycke quantitie is grown for goodnes in the lande. Newse I have not anye worthe the wryting but onlye this. The 22 of Maye Captin Tucker<sup>53</sup> was sente with 12 men in to Potomacke Ryver to feche som of our Engleshe which the Indianes detayned, and withall in culler to conclude a pease with the great Kinge Apochanzion;<sup>54</sup> soe the interpreter which was sente by lande with an Indian with hime to bringe the kinge to parle with Captain Tucker broughte them soe. After a manye fayned speches the pease was to be conclud in a helthe or tooe in sacke which was sente of porpose in the butte with Capten Tucker to poysen them. Soe Capten Tucker begane and our interpreter tasted before the kinge woulde tacke yt, but not of the same. Soe thene the kinge with the kinge of Cheskacke,<sup>55</sup> [their] sonnes and all the great men weare drun[torn] howe manye we canot wryte of but yt is thought some tooe hundred weare poysned and thaye comyng backe killed som 50 more and brought hom parte of ther heades. At ther departure from Apochinking the worde beinge geven by the interpreter which stode by the kinge one a highe rocke, The interpretour, the worde beinge paste tumbled downe, soe they gave in a volie of shotte and killed the tooe kinges<sup>56</sup> and manye alsoe as ys reporte to the counsell for serten. Soe this beinge done yt wilbe a great desmayinge to the blodye infidelles. We purpose god willinge after we have wedid our Tobaco and cornne with the helpe of Captn Smythe and otheres to goe upon the Waresquokes and Nansemomes to cute downe ther corne and put them to the sorde. God sende us vyctrie, as we macke noe question god asistinge.<sup>57</sup>

I praye comende me most kyndlye to Mr. Oxwige<sup>58</sup> and tell hime that

<sup>52</sup> Nov. 21, 1621, Capt. Nathaniel Basse and others received a patent for 300 acres on the west side of Pagan River near its mouth, but east of Bennet. *Records*, I. 561; Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 204. Berkeley's lay on the other side of James River.

<sup>53</sup> Capt. William Tucker, who had represented Elizabeth City in the assembly of 1619. An official account of these ferocious reprisals, by the governor and council, June 14, describing them in mild and general terms, is in *Records of Va. Co.*, II. 486-487. Another private letter in which they are described is that of Delphebus Canne to John Delbridge, July 2, in *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 48, and *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VI. 373-374.

<sup>54</sup> Opechancanough. The endorsement on this document has it "Apochunkinoe".

<sup>55</sup> Near Yorktown.

<sup>56</sup> Opechancanough was not killed, but lived till 1645.

<sup>57</sup> Their pious purpose was achieved July 23, by a force under Captain Tucker.

<sup>58</sup> Robert Oxwicke, draper. See docs. nos. XXXIII., XXXV.

I hope at the comynge home of the shipes which I hope shalbe the firste that comes for Englande, he shall receive a good parsell of Tobacoe from me with good profet: praye forgete me not to all the reste of our good frindes yourselfe and your wyfe, my brother Richarde<sup>59</sup> and his wyfe with your fatther in lawe and mother and all the reste not forgettinge my chillder whom I praye God to blesse and us all and sende us a joyfull mettinge. This in some haste. I leve you to the mersifull tuision of thallmyghtie in whom I reste

Your loving brother,

ROBT. BENNETT.

Praye comende me to Mr. Bowne and tell him that his boye is with me, for vittilles being scarce in the contrye noe mane will tacke servantes. Soe he shalbe with me untill I cane put thinges forthe. Thancke him for the cheese he sente me, but his boye made use of. Since Tho. Pope and Mr. Danell are gone to George Harison<sup>60</sup> to live with hime untill the crope be in. Mr. Kinge's mane rane away in Spayne, the reste I received all well, God be thanckd.

[*Endorsed:*] 1623 From Brother Robert dated in Bennettes Wellcome the 9th June. [*There follows a summary of the document.*]

[*Endorsed by one of the Lord Treasurer's Secretaries:*] 9 Junii, 1623. Robert Bennett.

[*Addressed:*] To my Lo. Brother Mr. Edward Bennett, Merchant in Bartholomew Lane in London.

XII. CAPTAIN JOHN BARGRAVE TO LORD TREASURER MIDDLESEX, JUNE 10, 1623.<sup>61</sup>

*Right Honorable*

The Kinge, the State, the plantacion, and my poore self, will all have cause to thank you for procureing this Commission.<sup>62</sup> Expedition will

<sup>59</sup> Associated in the patent.

<sup>60</sup> Mar. 6, 1621, Governor Yeardley makes a grant of 200 acres on the other side of the river opposite the governor's mansion house, to George Harrison of Charles City, gentleman. Harrison in letters to his brother John in London, May 12, 1622, and Jan. 24, 1623, speaks of "Cousin Bennett" and of accounts with Mr. Bennett. He died in the spring of 1624, as the result of a duel. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 25, 29, 36, 61; Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 581-582.

<sup>61</sup> No. 6204. Capt. John Bargrave of Patricksbourne in Kent, brother-in-law of the dean of Canterbury, brother of a later dean, and father of a canon of that cathedral (Hasted, *History of Kent*, III. 721), was an esteemed but contentious member of the company, who had sued or entered complaints against a varied number of its officers and members, and had offered no less than five treatises on the reform of the government of Virginia. A few days before this, May 16, he had shown Sir Nathaniel Rich such a paper and accused Sir Edwin Sandys of grave political machinations. *Records of Va. Co.*, I. 444; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 28-32; Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 446-448, 529-530. See no. XV., below. Cranfield had been made Earl of Middlesex Sept. 17, 1622.

<sup>62</sup> The commission of May 9, 1623, appointing seven commissioners to inquire into all matters concerning the Virginia Company.

nowe bee the life of it, That it may be putt into accion, by Bartholmew day,<sup>63</sup> else this yeare will bee lost as the last yeare was; your Lordship hath tendered the importacion of the Spanish Tobacco to the Companie, they (as they doe all thinges els) applie it to the benefitt of a few, for want of a Stock.<sup>64</sup> I make noe doubt but if this Commission be expediated, but there wilbe a Stock procured time enough to farme the Tobacco for the publike, soe as the benefitt gayned shall returne to the good of the Kinge, and the plantacion. Good my Lord in all your grauntes that carrie profitt with them, use the name of the Publike; The word Companie governed by populer voices, is it that covereth all their secrett practises. And it is a shame that the Common weale of Virginia, dependinge on the Monarchie here, should be governed soe, as this little treatise here inclosed<sup>65</sup> will show you. All the examples that I produce to expresse the injuries done, were for the most part in Sir Thomas Smith's goverment, because from it the planters have learned their inhumanitie and injustice which they nowe use, both against the new comers and adventurers, offeringe the same measure which hath bene measured before to them. But if I should call in question the present governors, whoe beinge not ignorant that the populer goverment doth directlie take away the power of the monarchie and shew what mischeife they have done by their profuse throwinge out libertie, amongst the planters, whereby they have made them forsake their former discipline, strength and vertue to defend themselves against the domestick enemie, and yet beinge fore warned of these thinges it should appeare that they did it knoweingely and wittinglie against the soveraigntie in England, extreame libertie beinge worse then extreame Tirranie, as it appeared by *the troubles in Rome after Neroes death*, and the Romans (when their estate was most populer) never punishinge their governors more for anie fault, then<sup>66</sup> the neglect of discipline; this might make our governors nowe as much to bee blamed as the former weare, but I delight not to bee an accuser, unles necessitie enforce it, although all the remainder of my estate sent into Virginia is nowe lost therby. And soe I rest

Your lordships to commaund

JOHN BARGRAVE

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Received 10 June 1623. Captaine Bargrave

<sup>63</sup> August 24.

<sup>64</sup> But measures toward the underwriting of a joint stock, for undertaking the farming of the Spanish tobacco, had been taken by the company on May 12. *Records*, II. 420.

<sup>65</sup> Probably some one of the five treatises to which Bargrave alludes in a letter to the company, *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 30, perhaps no. XV.

<sup>66</sup> Than.



XIII. SIR EDWIN SANDYS TO LORD TREASURER MIDDLESEX, JUN 2 19, 1623.<sup>67</sup>

*Right Honorable*

I have understood from Sir Arthur Ingram<sup>68</sup> of your Lordship's most noble favour towards me unto his Majestie in procuring my libertie to return to the cittie, both to the comfort and help of my distressed wife in hir health and for the ordering of my owne important busines, which so honorable favour, as I acknowledge with all due and possible thankfullnes, so shall I rest ever obliged to be answerable for the same, with the [*torn*] and faithfullest services that the meannes of my abilities may extend unto.

But my good Lord, give me leve (knoweing that in noble and generous natures, one favour or benefit dooth often draw on another) give me leve, I say, my good Lord, to renue unto your lordship my much elder suite, which it pleased your Lordship to entertain with much approbation, and to comfort me in it with your noble promise that your Lordship would be pleased to take tyme and oportunitie to restore me again thoroughly to his Majestie's gracious favour. Which suit I now tender again with all fervent duetie if your Lordship doo knowe, that ever since you were pleased to reintegrate me in your owne favour, I have applyed myself in all things to do his Majestie service according to your Lordships directions: and now promise so to continue to the best of my power.

I understood also from Sir Arthur Ingram, that your Lordship's pleasure was that at my return I should attend you. But understanding that your Lordship wilbe absent for some few dayes, I make bold to crave your Lordships fu[rther] pleasure therein for the tyme, either by Sir Arthur Ingram or otherwise as shall please your lordship. And so humbly take leve and rest

In all duetie at your Lordship's Command

19 June 1623

EDWIN SANDYS.

[*Indorsed by Willis:*] 19 June 1623. Sir Edwyn Sandes.

[*Addressed:*] To the Right Honorable my especiall good L. the Earl of Middlesex, L. High Treasurer of England.

XIV. CAPTAIN ROBERT BACON TO RICHARD WILLIS, NOVEMBER 9, 1623.<sup>69</sup>

*Sir*

I acquainted you at our last meeting that I had moved my Lord Threasureur on the cittie's behalfe for the stay of a sute commenced against them

<sup>67</sup> No. 6207. Holograph. The next April, Sandys took, with Coke, the leading part in the prosecution of Middlesex by the Commons. *Old Parl. Hist.*, VI. 148.

<sup>68</sup> Comptroller of the customs of the port of London. For his character, see Goodman, *Court of James I.*, I. 252. By order of the Privy Council, May 13, 1623, Sandys was confined to his house. *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 64. The editors of that work say that his release seems to be dated May 21, but this document seems to indicate a later date.

<sup>69</sup> No. 6205. The suit here referred to has not been identified. Captain Robert Bacon was remembrancer of the city of London from 1619 to 1633.

by one Farrar in the Court of Common Pleas, for the recovery of his monye lent his majestie at his going into Scotland. I moved my Lord since that at Whitehall, and his lordship appointed me to repaire unto you for an answer. Good Sir favour me soe much as to mind my Lord of the busines and the rather because yt appeares by a subscription to the copy of the wrytt delivered to my lord that Farrar makes Accompt to find an easy way given to his proceedings. Good Sir favour my late indisposition so much as to procure my Lord's answer [and] appoint me a tyme when I shall attend you for that, which yf yt bee not speedy, will come too late. So Sir I rest

Yours very assuredly  
to be commanded

November 9, 1623

ROB. BACON.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Captayne Bacon, for stay of Farrar's suite against the citty.

[*Addressed:*] To my very worthy friend Mr. Willis, Secretary to the Right Hon'ble the Lo. Thr'er.

XV. CAPTAIN JOHN BARGRAVE'S PROPOSALS, DECEMBER, 1623.<sup>70</sup>

*Right hon'ble.* I have tendered to my Lord President<sup>71</sup> and some other the Lords of the Councell a forme of Pollicy thus condicioned.

1. Firste I undertake to shew the meanes to drawe a sufficient number of men that have good estates here to plant in Virginia with their persons and goods and to cause the planters in Virginia to plant estates in England.

2. Secondlie soe to sever and devide the faculties of Soveraigntie and the Commaund of the forces amongst those men soe estated, that they shall never meet united in power, but to advance our polliticke end, of houldinge the plantacion to England.

3. Thirdlie by makeinge use of the naturall strength and lardgenes of the place soe to Marshall those men as they shall not onely make the plantacion spread and growe to finde out the best Commodities and enlarge the king's domynions, but they shall secure it both from Forraigne Enemies, and enable it to give lawes to the domesticke Indians.

4. Fourthlie the ymployinge those men there to make the beste and suddenest returnes hether.

5. Fiftlie the mannaginge and orderinge those returnes soe as they shall not onely supplie and maynteyne the plantacion with apparrell and necessaries but it shall make a publique stocke and treasury that shall increase as the plantacion increaseth.

6. Sixtlie the Patent standing as it doth and the practice and faction

<sup>70</sup> No. 6157. See no. XII.

<sup>71</sup> Henry Montagu, viscount Mandeville, afterward earl of Manchester, lord president of the council 1621-1628. The "forme of Pollicy" here described is to be found among the papers of his descendant the Duke of Manchester. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report*, II. 47, no. 402.

beinge taken away, it shall have such further liberties and jurisdictiones added to the government, as shalbe necessarie and for the good of the plantacion.

7. Seaventhlie and lastlie, the doeinge of all those thinges by waie of righte and intereste to the maynteynance of Justice and peace, and to the honor of God our king and state.

All theis qualities beinge treated of in five severall treaties are lastlie composed into one forme w'ch may aptlie be termed a Military intendencie by tribe it beinge a way not onely to plant Garrisons without paie, but each Garrison bruinging with it a certeyne revenewe to the Crowne it shall tie Virginia as fast to England as if it were one *terra firma* with it.

The brute of it I had from Charles the 5, and if he himselfe or kinge Phillip his sonne had used the like pollicie in the West Indies, Low Countries, Millanie, Naples and the rest of his provinces to mainteyne his soveraignty there, he had not spent soe many Millions to keepe Garrisons as he hath done, neither wold his provinces be soe ready to fall from him as now they will be, if this plate fleet should faile him.<sup>72</sup>

I ever held (and soe I expressed myselfe in my Articles 2 yeeres sithence at the Councell Board)<sup>73</sup> that this busines must be tenderly handled till the public stocke was gayned and the forme was consented to by the company. And that this taking away the patent from the company is merely by a devise of the delinquents whoe havinge fowerscore articles put in against them and but 4 of them examyned doe by troblinge the busines and makinge the company to give over their Compl'ts conceal from the kinge the Iniquitie of the former governem't, it will appeare by theis reasons followinge:

1. First it will weaken the confidence that Patentees should have in Patents.

2. Secondlie it will appeare that the company and the governem't by voices must by necessitie contynue, aswell for their grantinge of Patents, because the kinge hath alreadie granted them the soile of the Contry as also for the giving of their consent to lawes that shall bynde their estates, it being the right of all free subjects.

3. Thirdlie the forme proposed (consideringe the former reason) must be consented to both by the kinge and company. By the kinge because there will be in it divers priviledges and Jurisdictiones that transcend to Common law, and all authority formerly granted, By the Company because the forme will bynde their estates.

4. Fourthlie the patent was granted beinge to the adventurer and planter and the government beinge in the company here, if the company wil by consenting to this forme transfer the government to the Planter

<sup>72</sup> Captain Bargrave apparently thought that the fleet of the Dutch West India Company under Jacob Willekens and Piet Hein, which sailed out this month against Bahia, might capture the King of Spain's annual silver fleet—as Hein did in 1628.

<sup>73</sup> Probably those summarized in *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 29.

(to whom of right it belongs) there is noe necessitie that the Patent must be delivered.

5. Fiftlie because this consent of all parties interested in the plantacion will make the forme more firme and perpetuall.

6. Sixtlie all changes in government should be insensible gentle easie and not extorted.

7. Seaventhlie because this very government doth make many adventure w<sup>ch</sup> otherwise would not.

8. Eightlie because everythinge should be fostered by that that bred it, And the Companie havinge bred this plantacion it should likewise have a hand in the fosteringe of it.

9. Nynthly because it is a question whether it be fit that the kinge should take the name of the plantacion as a worke of his owne, till such time as the state did so that it should be able to Subsist of it selfe and to defend it selfe against forraigne and domesticke power.

10. Tenthly because the kinge will have righte in the benefitt that shalbe made by the publique servants sent by reason of his soveraigntie, though he be noe more seene in the busines than formerly he hath byn.

11. Lastlie because the plantacion beinge divided into severall Collonies each one of them Consisting of three hundred planters, if the said Collonys shall nomynate out of the Company heere three adventurers for each one of them, two of w<sup>ch</sup> shall doe their busines, as the Comittees doe now, and the third to be Agent for them to preconsult in matters that shall concerne the plantacion and to make contracts with the king or Company, and the whole Classis of their pre-consulters having a Negative voice this will both prevent all prejudice that shall come to the plantacion by practice and faction of the popular government here and will alsoe (as the state desires) drawe the government into fewer hands and then there will nothinge remayne in the company but the passing of patents, together with their consent to lawes that shall bynde their estates without the w<sup>ch</sup> noe man will adventure.

And whereas the state takes it ill that there are soe many counsellors made, the reason of the doeinge of it was to draw men of quallity to come to the Courte, and if all shalbe put from the Counsell, that forbear cominge together with those that are not sworne, the counsell will quicklie be found not to be many.

And whereas the lords doe desire that both the governem<sup>t</sup> in Virginia and the Government here should have relacion to the Lords of the Counsell there is such a Clause in the patent alreadie, that no weightie busines shalbe done but fower of the great lords and standinge officers of the Counsell shall be made acquainted and give their consente to it.

Consideringe theis reasons my humble suite is that yo<sup>r</sup> pet. may be suffered and the Companie may be comaunded to make good their Compl<sup>ts</sup> before the Comissioners that the kinge takinge notice who have abused the government and who not, rewards and punishm<sup>ts</sup> may be duly

administred, and that in the meane tyme there may be a Comittee or refference to some best experienced in such publique busines either of the *Company* or otherwise that may examine correct amend or allow of the government proposed that soe both the lords and the Companies agreeing in one end to wit the good of the plantacion the busines may goe cheerily forward.

yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp's

JOHN BARGRAVE.

[*Endorsed in the hand of Richard Willis:*] John Bargrave his Propositions concerning Virginia, Received 7<sup>o</sup> Decemb. 1623.

XVI. PETITION OF JOHN WOODALL, MARCH (?), 1630.<sup>74</sup>

To the right honorable the Lords and the rest of his Majesties most honorable privie Councill

The humble petition of John Woodall  
an adventurer and planter of the  
Collony in Virginia

Humblye sheweth that your petitioner having ben longe an Adventurer thither did heretofore buy an estate of Lands, goods and chattells which did belong unto Sir Samuell Argall Knight deceased sometimes Governor there,<sup>75</sup> whereby your petitioner was occasioned to send Factors and Agents theither to gett the sayd estate into his possession.

But soe it is, may it please your good honours, that since the departure of the sayd Sir Samuell Argall from that collonie (being about twelve years sithens)<sup>76</sup> the sayd estate by divers mutations there is disperced into many men's hands whoe now frame unto themselves a colorre to delaye and detayne the same from your petitioner, by reason of some controversies and difference which happened concerning the government wherein divers accusations were objected against the sayd Sir Samuell for supposed wrongs by him don unto the publique there, which though they were not proved neyther did they ever proceed to any tryall of lawe, and that only some of his goods were sequestred, yett neverthesse your petitioners factors have been still delayed upon pretence of those Controversies.

<sup>74</sup> See no. V., above, and note 31, *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXIII. 13, and nos. XVII.—XXI., below. It appears that this petition was the occasion of the letter addressed on Apr. 30, 1630, by the Privy Council to the governor and council of Virginia, and mentioned in the order of June 30, *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 163; hence the date here suggested.

<sup>75</sup> Argall died in 1626. A petition of Samuel Percevall and Ann his wife, Argall's daughter and heiress, presented to the House of Lords, June 25, 1641 (House of Lords MSS.), declares that Woodall had wrongly acquired from them Argall's estate and cattle in Virginia, and by influence in the Privy Council had eluded payment; the petition will be printed in vol. I. of Dr. L. F. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates of Parliament respecting North America* (Carnegie Institution of Washington).

<sup>76</sup> April, 1619.

May itt therefore please your good honours and because that since the dissolution of the late Virginia Companie your suppliant hath noe other Court to petition unto for redress, And that for this honorable Board hath ever ben graciously pleased to order and direct the affayrs of that Collony, That your honours would now be pleased to tender consideration of your petitioner's great losses and damages in the premises of your accustomed favours to grant unto your petitioner your honorable letters to be directed unto the Governor and Councell there resident, willing them that uppon resonable demand made unto them by your petitioner or his assignes that they cause diligent enquirie and searche to be made of all the particuler dispossinge of the Cattell and their encrease and also of the Lands and goods which did lately belonge unto the sayd deceased, And by the dewe examination of wittnesses and other circumstances fitting to explyne the true finding out of the estate and to deliver the same unto your petitioner his factors or Agent, and to administer all favorable Justice therein according as the right of his cause shall require, that your suppliant be not further enforced to be troublesome to your honours.

And your petitioner shall dailey pray.

[*Endorsed.*:] Mr. Woodall his petition to the Lords in England.

XVII. PETITION OF ROBERT BARRINGTON, (AFTER JUNE,) 1630.<sup>77</sup>

To the right worshipfull the Governor and Councell of State  
in Virginia

The humble petition of  
Robertt Barrington

Sheweth that your petitioner the last Quarter Courte prefered a petition on the behalfe of Mr. John Woodall for the recoverie of divers cattell which of late belonged to Sir Samuell Argall Knight deceased wherein he was an humble suiter to the board for a finall ende in that cause, whereuppon your worships were pleased to make an order that some parte of them should be delivered and the rest should hange in suspence till further order from the Lords of his Majesties most honorable Privie Councell in England, and hee further sheweth the Lords of his Majesties Councell did direct their letters to the Governor and Councell heere requesting that a finall ende of the same might be had with such lawfull favour and expedition as might be expected uppon their letters of recommendations. Your petitioner humbly prayeth that forasmuch as the sayd order is noe finall ende, but leaveth the cause in the greatest parte undetermined, that the same may bee revoked and that a full conclusion therein may be made according to their Lordships letters and expecta-

<sup>77</sup> Robert Barrington was member for James City in the general assembly of 1630. The date is shown by the text to be subsequent to that of the order of the Privy Council, June 30, printed in *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 163, in which the governor and council are enjoined to do justice to Woodall.

tions of your [*sic*] That Mr. Woodall may have noe cause to be further troublesome unto them nor complayne of injustice or delay in this Courte.

And hee will always praye, etc.

[*Endorsed:*] Robert Barrington his petition to the Governor and counsell in the behalfe of Mr. Woodall.

XVIII. ORDER OF COURT IN VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 12, 1630.

A Courte att James Citty the 12th daye of December 1630.

Present.

Sir John Harvey Knight Governor etc. <sup>78</sup>	
Captain West	Captain Basse
Captain Mathewe	Captain Utey
Captain Tucker	Captain Purifie
Mr. Farrar	Captain Bullocke
Captain Stevens	

Itt is ordered by this Courte, that all the Cattle that shall appeere to belonge to Sir Samuell Argoll Knight without dispute, shalbe delivered to Mr. Robertt Barrington att the springe time when without danger they may well be transported, vizt. the cattle in the hands of Captain Mathew, Martins Hundred, Roger Tompson, Captain Perrie, Mr. John Arundell, and others

Examinat. per W. CLAIBORNE, Secretary <sup>79</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] An order of court at James Citty the 12th day of December 1630.

XIX. DEPOSITION OF ROGER TOMPSON, MARCH 25, 1631.<sup>80</sup>

The relation of Roger Tompson concerning the cattell called by the name of Sir Samuell Argall's cattell delivered uppon oath the 25th day of March 1631 before Sir John Harvey Knight etc.

Mr. Will: Farrar

Mr. Henry Finch

Captain Tho. Purifie.

The sayd Tompson sayth that those cattle were found in James Iland and were fiftie eyght in number but the originall of their stocke he

<sup>78</sup> Governor 1628-1639.

<sup>79</sup> Secretary 1625-1635, 1652-1660.

<sup>80</sup> See no. V. The name of Roger Thompson appears, as of Flowerdieu Hundred, in the "Listes of the Livinge and Dead", 1623, in *Colonial Records of Va.* (Senate Doc., 1874), p. 40.

<sup>81</sup> The disposition here stated, as of date June 10, 1619, agrees in general with that given in no. V. for Sept. 26, 1620, it being understood that Smith's Hundred had meantime been renamed Southampton Hundred, and that Abraham Peirse was the cape merchant mentioned in no. V.



knoweth not and were disposed of by Sir George Yearley the 10th of June 1619<sup>81</sup> as followeth.

1. First, Six Cowes to the Lady Yearley,<sup>82</sup> three of which died in the Iland and the other three Cowes remaininge were sold to Captain Stone of London.

2. Secondly, foure Cowes, foure oxen, and one old Bull to Southampton hundred, which remayne among that Stocke.

3. Thirdly, ten Cowes to Martin hundred, of which ten, Mr. Emerson<sup>83</sup> had two, one of which two had her backe broken going to Hogg Iland the other was carried to Mrs. Emerson att Kickcoutan,<sup>84</sup> of the increase of which cowe, one shee killed at her son's wedding, one cowe she sould with one ox Calfe and att her death shee gave one Cowe to her daughter; for the old cowe that was first brought downe, she was killed, and the sayd Roger Tompson put a younge heyfer in her rome and the rest of her increase doe make eight in number: five of which wilbe Milch this yeare. Of the other three, two are Cowe Calves, and one an ox Calfe, all in the hands of the sayd Tompson, for the other eyght that wee delivered to Martin hundred the sayd Tompson never knew butt of fouer of them that were in James Iland in the possession of one Mr. Harwood of Barnestable<sup>85</sup> but what is now become of those foure or the rest the sayd Tompson knoweth not.

4. Fourthly, six old cowes, one old bull were delivered to Mr. Abraham Percey which remaine in the hands of his executors.

5. Fieftly, foure old Cowes, one old Cowe, twelve Cowe Calves and three ox calves, were delivered to Mr. Pountis, for Mr. Woodall.

6. Sixtly, one ox Sir Francis Wiatt<sup>86</sup> kildd for Pamunkey March.

7. Seaventhly, one steere the Lady Yearley kildd.

8. Eightly, two Cowes and two Steirs to Captain Thorpe for Berkley hundred, But what became of them the sayd Tompson knoweth nott.

[*Endorsed:*] The relation of Roger Tompson, Cowekeeper, uppon oath taken 25<sup>o</sup> March 1631.

XX. ORDER OF COURT IN VIRGINIA, JUNE 27, 1631.

A Courte att James Citty the 27th of June 1631.

Present.

Sir John Harvey Kt. Governor etc.

Captain John West

Captain John Utye

Mr. Henry Finch

Captain Tho. Purifie

Captain Rich. Stevens

Captain Will. Peirce

Captain Natha. Basse

Captain Will. Perrie

<sup>82</sup> Temperance, wife of Sir George Yearley.

<sup>83</sup> Presumably Ellis Emerson, member of the convention of 1625.

<sup>84</sup> Elizabeth City.

<sup>85</sup> William Harwood of Martin's Hundred.

<sup>86</sup> Governor 1624-1626, 1639-1641.

Whereas itt hath ben formerly ordered by this Courte, that Robertt Barrington the assign and Attorney of John Woodall, gentleman, should have certayne Cowes and other Cattell out of the stocke of Berkley hundred, being att this present twenty eight young and ould, for satisfaction of three cowes, with their increase, long since sent to the sayd Hundred, But did not order what certayne number he should receive, out of the sayd stocke, but referred the same to a further hearinge,

This present day uppon the motion of the sayd Robertt Barrington, the Courte takinge the same into there considerations, have thought itt fitt and accordingly ordered that the sayd Robertt Barrington shall receive for the use of Mr. Woodall halfe the stocke of cattell, At this time belonging to the sayd Hundred, with this provisoeverthelesse that if any of Barkley hundred adventurors or any for them shall beetwene this and the feast of Christmas shew good and sufficient cause why soe many Cattell should not be allowed to Mr. Woodall for the Cowes soe lent to the sayd Hundred, then this order shalbe of none effect.

And if in case the sayd Mr. Woodall or any for him within the time aforesayd shall make appeere to this courte, that there ought more of the sayd stocke to bee allowed for satisfaction of the three Cowes, with their increase, Then this Courte will make a further allowance to the sayd Mr. Woodall out of the remainder of the sayd stocke.

Vera copia teste me

W. CLAIBORNE Secr.

[*Endorsed:*] An order of court the 27th of June at James Cittie 1631 about Mr. Woodall.

XXI. ORDER OF COURT IN VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 15, 1631.

A Corte helde att James Citty the 15th of December 1631

Present

Sir John Harvey Knt. Governor etc.	
Capt. Fra. West	Mr. William Farrar
Capt. Jo. West	Capt. Natha. Basse
Capt. Sam. Mathew	Capt. John Utye
Capt. William Claybourne	Capt. Tho. Puryfie
Capt. William Tucker	

[Today was held] . . . and serious deliberation concerning the estate of Cat. . . . belonging to Sir Samuell Argall knight deceased, transported over to Mr. Woodall whose assignes have often petitioned the [Corte] . . . to be delivered unto them, first weare reade the sayd Woodalls complainte and petition to the Lords of his Majestie's most Honorable privie Council . . . their Lordship's letter, recommending the cause and requiring that speedy execution of justice should be done, there was also . . . and order of sequestration made in England by the Councell for Virginia anno 1619 and the disposall of the cattell there . . . Governor and Coun-

cell heere the 20th of September, anno 1620.<sup>87</sup> Likewise there were read letters of recommendation from Sir Robert Heath Att[orney Generall]<sup>88</sup> in this behalfe, and his absolute and cleere oppinion that the sayd sequestration is ended and that wee ought by law to proceed to the . . . ing the right, as if the sequestration had not ben, The Court having formerly by an order of Court the first of March, [16]30 entred into the determination of this cause and ordered that one third part of the said Southampton hund[red ca]ttell should be held and accompted as the cattell of Sir Samuuell Argall, Doth now likewise approve thereof and give order that the Cattell of Sir Samuuell Argall's stocke left in Mr. Abraham Persies hand which are not yett delivered, t[hough ?] they have allways ben cumbred[?] with a desire to be ridd of them, should forthwith be delivered unto the assigns of the sayd Mr. Woodall, and for the rest which can any way appertayne to Sir Sammuuell Argall out of Barkley hundred and Martin's hundred, itt is thought fitt they be likewise delivered, And therefore itt is resolved, because it [se]mes the greatest part of them are intermingled with the stocke belonging to Southampton hundred, to have the exactions and oathes taken of the cowkeepers and such who can best give information therein, those of the councell having [ha]d noe knowledge neyther are there any records left to direct them in these proceedings, And . . . the rather because they may give that satisfaction unto those honorable and noble adventurers of the severall hundreds, the cattell being almost the only remayns of those large expences, Butt because they shall heerein walke in the darke stepps of forepassed and forgotten times, they deliver theire advise, That all the sayd cattell delivered in the right of Sir Samuuell Argall be noe further alienated then those hands into which they are now to be putt, untill a finall resolution and determination of this Cause be sent from the right honorable and others his Majestie's Commissioners for these affayeres,<sup>89</sup> unto whom itt is thought fitt that together with our letters copies of all the aforesayd severall papers be transmitted, because many of them, as they conceive, have further knowledge of the grounds of the premises then any of the Councell heere.

Vera copia teste me

W. CLAIBORNE Secr.

[*Endorsed:*] An order of Courte concerning Southampton Martin's and Barkley hundred cattell for Mr. Woodall. 11<sup>o</sup> December 1631.

<sup>87</sup> No. V., above.

<sup>88</sup> Attorney general 1626-1631; but on Oct. 26, 1631, he had been elevated to the bench as chief justice of the court of common pleas.

<sup>89</sup> Commissioners for Virginia appointed June 17, 1631. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 130; *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VIII. 33.

## B. CONCERNING TOBACCO.

XXII. CERTIFICATE CONCERNING TOBACCO ENTERED IN PORTSMOUTH,  
FEBRUARY 10, 1616(?).<sup>90</sup>

In Portesmouth

The trueth of the quantitie of Tobacco accordinge  
to two entryes past by William Budd vizt.

The xxx<sup>th</sup> of September 1615

In the *Flyeing Horse* of Flushing of xxx tonnes,  
William Johnson, master, from Virginia. For William  
Budd, one greate Roall containing one hundred and  
fyve pounds of puddinge tobaccoe.

The x<sup>th</sup> of February 1615

In the *Flyeing Horse* of Flushing aforesaid, the  
said William Johnson, master, from Virginia. For  
William Budd, five hundred and foure pounds of pud-  
dinge tobaccoe.

THO. WULFRIS Collector      W. DINGLEY, Comptroller  
ED. DAWSON Collector pro farmers.

Both these entries in the Kinges bookes delivered by the customer<sup>91</sup>  
and comptroller are mencioned to be from the West India.

[Addition in Cranfield's hand:]

100 li. the Spanish Embassador

2. 12. 6

5. 5. 0

25. 4.

12. 12.

43. 13. 6

45. 13. 6<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> No. 6182. The William Budd here mentioned as importing tobacco from Virginia may have been the William Budd of the Fishmongers Company who is listed by Brown, *Genesis*, I. 282, as refusing to invest in the Virginia Company, but Mr. Brown is quite wrong in his comment, II. 772, on Budd's tobacco. He says, "'30th Sept. 1615, From W. Budd, one great roll containing 105 lbs. of Midding Tobacco'. There is also another certificate of February 10, 1616, which gives the number of pounds as 104, showing the loss of weight with time, which those who deal in tobacco have long been familiar with". But the second number, as will be seen from our text, is properly 504. Also, "from" should be "for", and "midding" should be "pudding". The errors are in the brief entry respecting the document in the *Fourth Report* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 314, whence Mr. Brown doubtless derived his item. He says, *First Republic*, p. 231, that this item is the first definite account he has seen of tobacco from Virginia reaching England.

<sup>91</sup> Customer meant the collector of the port, as distinguished from the comptroller, who kept an account serving as a check upon his, and from the collector for the farmers of the customs. Hubert Hall, *History of the Custom-Revenue*, II. 44, 50.

<sup>92</sup> The true addition is £45. 13s. 6d.

45 *li.* 13 *s.* 6 *d.* In the entries at Portsmouth from Virginia but in the customes boockes from the West Indies which is the reason the auditor will not allow.<sup>93</sup>

[*Fragment.*] mistacking.

	Portsmouth due	45.	13.	6
His Majestie's officers are the debtors	{ Cardife, due Jourdain and Comptroller due in Cornwall, dead	18.	3.	-
		19.	14.	6
		<hr/>		
	for	83.	17.	-
		<hr/>		

[*Endorsed.*] A certificate from Portesmouth for Budd's Tobacco.

XXIII. REPORT TO SIR LIONEL CRANFIELD, DECEMBER 25(?), 1616.<sup>94</sup>

The Tobacco entred in the port of London betweene midsomer 1615 and midsomer 1616 at xviii *d.* imposition and custome<sup>95</sup> the same amounteth to 3935 *li.* 8. 3

The benefite of the custome and imposition of this yere did passe by the contracte of his Majestie with the fermers with the rest of ther estate in the ferme for the some of 4000 *li.* the which was paid by the collectors of the said imposition and custome to the said fermers for ther interest by warrant from his Majestie under the great seale.

There is come in to this port of London since midsomer soe muche Tobacco as the custome and imposition thereof at the rate aforesaid (the Entries thereof being perfected) will amounte to about the some of

2000. 0. 0

XXIV. NOTES OF CRANFIELD, DECEMBER 25, 1616(?).<sup>96</sup>

The Farmers of the Imposte upon Tobackoe at mydsomer anno 1615 had an estate in it for 3 yeares which was then worth to them cleere (his Majestie's Rente and all charges defrayed) above 4000 *l.* per annum as by his Majestie's custome boockes appear.

For this 3 yeares Sir Lyonell Cranfield contracted with the parties interested (on the behalffe of his Majestie) for the some of fower thousand poundes and with this condicion that the King should disburse no

<sup>93</sup> If it came in from Virginia it was exempt from customs dues, under the patent of 1612; if from the West Indies, it should pay duty.

<sup>94</sup> No. 6180. Report to Cranfield as surveyor general of the customs, without signature.

<sup>95</sup> The impost was a shilling (raised in 1615 to eighteenpence), the subsidy sixpence for roll and fourpence for leaf tobacco. In this year 2300 lbs. were imported into London from Virginia, 52673 lbs. from foreign parts. Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, p. 109.

<sup>96</sup> No. 6179. In the hand, throughout, of Cranfield, surveyor general of the customs.

monye, but that the Farmers should receive the said 4000 *l.* owt of the said Farme.

The 4th of Maye 1616 the said Farmers past all their Interest to his Majestie with all proffitts and receiptes from mydsomer 1615.

From mydsomer 1615 untill mydsomer 1616 ther was received upon the said Farme of Tobackoe for the Porte of London onely 3935 *l.* 8 [*s.*] 3 *d.*, soe that ther was monye to paye the Farmers with a surplusadge (the Portes reckoned)<sup>97</sup> within seven weeckes after it was past to his Majestie.

From mydsomer 1616 untill Christmas 1616 being halff a yere ther is received and to bee received upon the perfectinge of the entryes for Tobackoe come into the Porte of London only above Two thousand poundes.

[*Endorsed:*] Tobacko.

XXV. RECEIPTS FROM DUTIES ON TOBACCO, JANUARY 23, 1619.

The Receipte of the Tobacco from our Lady day	
1618 to Michaelmas following is the some of	2751 : 02 : 00
From Michaelmas 1618 to the xxiii <sup>th</sup> day of	
January followinge is	1605 : 16 : 06
	<hr/>
Sume Totall	4356 : 18 : 06
	<hr/>

More remayninge in the Custome howse about  
1200 wayght uppon billes at sight which comethe<sup>98</sup>  
unto

0090 *l.* . 00 . 00

ABRAHAM JACOB  
Collector pro Imp.<sup>99</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] Receipt of tobacco by Mr. Abraham Jacob. 1618.

XXVI. ACCOUNT OF THE FARM OF TOBACCO, NOVEMBER 5, 1619.<sup>100</sup>

Redditus fermi Tobacco pro anno 5000 *li.* et solut. per Tallias levat. pro  
anno finit. ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno Regis Jacobi  
xvii mo.

<sup>97</sup> *I. e.*, with the addition of what came from the other ports.

<sup>98</sup> At 1 *s.* 6 *d.* a pound, the impost alone.

<sup>99</sup> In 1618 the office of collector of the tobacco impost was granted for life to Abraham and John Jacob. Beer, p. 111.

<sup>100</sup> This document may be translated thus: "Receipts of the farm of tobacco for the year, £5000, and payments by tallies raised [see Hall, *Custom-Revenue*, II. 186-195] for the year ended Michaelmas 17 Jac. I. Easter term, 1619: by tally raised Apr. 17, 1619, £1500; do. Apr. 30, £925; do. May 7, £2000. Michaelmas term, 1619: do. Nov. 5, £425. Total payments, £4850; collector's fee. £150; total, £5000."

				Totall. solut.
Termino	{	per Talliam levat. xvii <sup>mo</sup>		
		Aprilis 1619	mv <sup>c</sup> li.	
	{	per aliam Talliam levat. xxx		
Pasche 1619		Aprilis 1619	ix <sup>c</sup> xxv li.	iiii <sup>m</sup> viii <sup>c</sup> l. li.
	{	per aliam Talliam levat. vii		
		Maii 1619	mm li.	
Termino	{	Et per aliam Talliam levat.		
Michaelis				
1619	{	quinto Novembris 1619	iiii <sup>c</sup> xxv li.	
		And for the fee of the Collector	cl li.	
			Totall. v <sup>m</sup> li.	

Examined by me ROBERTUS PYE<sup>101</sup>

[Endorsed by Cranfield:] Sir Robert Pye, abowte tobacco.

XXVII. OFFER OF ABRAHAM JACOB FOR THE FARM OF THE TOBACCO DUTIES,  
DECEMBER (?), 1619.<sup>102</sup>

Articles agreed one with Mr. Abraham Jacob for the Farming of the Tobacco for seaven yeeres from Michaelmas nexte 1620 for the yeerely Rente of *eight thousand* poundes per annum vizt.

Firste that all Tobaccos whatsoever that shall come into theise his Majestie's dominions of England Wales and Barwicke from beyond the Seas the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco onely excepted shall pay the Imposition or increase of Subsidie of xviii *d.* per pound or under att the Farmer's pleasure and the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco att the rate of vi *d.* per pound And yf it shall not bee lawfull for the Farmer to receive the same rates then defaultation to bee made unto him yeerely out of his Majestie's rent for the same.

The Rente to bee paid halfe yeerely or within Fortie dayes after each Rent day.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Robert Pye was remembrancer of the exchequer. He was not knighted till July 13, 1621, hence Cranfield's endorsement is later.

<sup>102</sup> No. 6184. The words italicized are inserted in a different hand. Internal evidence places the document between Michaelmas and Christmas, 1619 (Sept. 29-Dec. 25), and probably after Dec. 2. Abraham Jacob, one of the collectors of the impost on tobacco, now desired to farm it for seven years. From July to December he had contended that tobacco from Virginia, the seven years of exemption (note 13, above) having expired in March, should pay impost. *Records*, I. 245, 248, 276, 277. On Dec. 2 the attorney general, Yelverton, rendered an opinion to the Privy Council (*id.*, I. 281-284) that the company was now clearly exempt from all but the five per cent. subsidy, which, under the existing book of rates, would amount to sixpence a pound. Jacob in his present proposals takes account of this opinion, but not of the fact that the Somers Islands Company's exemption had still nearly three years to run.

<sup>103</sup> To wit, Michaelmas and Lady-day, Sept. 29 and Mar. 25.



That his Majestie shall prohibite and forbid before Christmas 1619 the plantation of all English Tobacco within this Realme of England dominions of Wales and towne of Barwicke and the dominions thereunto belonging<sup>104</sup> and the same plantation to bee utterly surpressed or els to bee lawfull for the Farmer to keepe his Rente in his owne handes untill hee have receaved full satisfaction for his damadge by reason of the said plantation according unto the rate and quantety of the Imposition paiaible uppon Tobacco Imported out of Spaine beeing for every pound xviii *d.* per pound and likewise to bee free of all Covenantes and payments and to bee Accomptant onely for the same.

Allsoe that his Majestie dureing the terme of the said Farmer's Patent shall not raise or sett any newe Imposition Custome or Taxe uppon any Tobacco imported nor graunt any lycence or restraint in forbidinge the subject to sell the same freely by retaile or otherwise more then was in force and practise at Michaelmas last that then and from thenceforth all covenantes and other reservations mentioned in the letters patentes to bee voyde and to bee an Accomptant onely from that tyme forwardes.

And whereas there is allowed unto the now Collector one hundred and fifty pounes per annum for the Collection of the said Tobacco by Patente under the greate Seale<sup>105</sup> the said fee of one hundred and fifty pounes per annum to bee yeerely paid from tyme to tyme dureing the Collector's Patent out of his Majestie's rent of *eight thousand* pounes per annum.

That yf att any tyme dureing the terme their shall happen any warrs betwixt England and Spaine or any Imbargement of trade then it shalbee lawfull for that tyme to relinquish the said Patente and to bee an Accomptant onely for the same.

Allsoe that yf the Patentee shall dislike after twoe yeeres to bee accounted from Michaelmas next and make knowen such his dislike as aforesaid, at Michaelmas or within xl dayes after in any yeere dureing the terme that hee determineth to hold the same no longer, then in such case uppon one yeeres warning as aforesaid the Patente to bee voyde and the Patentee to bee freed from all paymentes and covenantes and to bee an Accomptant onely for the same.

To have all such further covenantes as the Farmers of the Tobacco now hath for the safe enjoying therof as by the Kings Majestie's Councell and the Farmers shalbe thought fitt and necessary.

[*Endorsed by Cranfield.*] Tobacco: Mr. Jacobs new offer of 8000 *l.* per annum.

<sup>104</sup> The proclamation was dated Dec. 30, 1619, and issued somewhat later. Beer, *Origins*, p. 113. The text is in the American Antiquarian Society's volume of *British Royal Proclamations relating to America (Transactions and Collections, XII.)*, pp. 18–21.

<sup>105</sup> See the preceding document.

XXVIII. OFFER OF THE IMPORTERS OF SPANISH TOBACCO, 1620.<sup>106</sup>

An offer of the Spanish Marchantes for the Farming of the Imposte, Increase of Subsidy, and the Sole Importation of Tobacco for seaven yeeres from Michaelmas next 1620 without any defaulcacion for the Increase of Subsidy dureing the privelidge of the Bermudos Company beeing for twoe yeeres to come or ther abouts and after to pay as the Virginia Company doth.

Wheras there hath bin an offer made unto his Majestie by divers which have never delte in the Trade of Tobacco but onely as Adventurers in the Virginia and Bermudos Company for the taking to Farme from his Majestie the Imposts etc. and Sole Importation of Tobacco, And for that wee not onely our selves for many yeeres traded in Tobacco, but alsoe have brought up many servantes in that faculty And yee doe conceive that the trade of Tobacco is not soe proper unto any as unto ourselves wee beeing more able to give Satisfaction unto the State for the venting of our native comodetyes at the best and highest rates as alsoe for the selling of Tobacco at reasonable prices unto his Majesties Subjectes and to answer all other objections concerning that trade wee haveing of long tyme exercised the same,

In regard wherof wee in all humblenes implore his Majestie's gracious Favour with your honour's favourable Furtherance that our trade may bee continued unto us, And wee will give unto his Majestie for the Farme of the Impost, Increase of Subsidy and Sole Importation of Tobacco for seaven yeeres to begin at Michaelmas next 1620 (Provided alwayes that noe greater charge bee laid on the Tobacco then is at this present) these Rentes following vizt. For the first yeer's Rent to bee paid halfe yeerly att our Lady Day and at Michaelmas or within forty dayes after 16000 *l.* per annum<sup>107</sup> and for the sixe laste ensuing yeeres 20000 *l.* per annum, And the Rentes to bee divided by twoe severall Patentes vizt. 6000 *l.* per annum for the Impost and Increase of Subsidy dureing the said seaven yeeres And 10000 *l.* per annum for the first yeere for the sole Importation, And yf wee shall thinck fitt to continue the same then 14000 *l.* per annum for the sixe ensuing yeeres. Allsoe wee wilbee contented to take from the Virginia and Bermudos company 50,000 *lb.* of Tobacco soe it bee made marchantable, at reasonable prices, or in case the same bee not marchantable, then wee will give them liberty to make saile of the said 50000 *lb.* to their best advantage. And for any greater quantetyes the said companyes shall bring in the same to bee trans-

<sup>106</sup> No. 6183. The offer referred to in the beginning of the document is that of Sir Thomas Roe and others, presented Apr. 5, 1620, *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 32, 33, and the date of this document must lie between that and July 30, when the grant was authorized to be made to them. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1619-1623, p. 170.

<sup>107</sup> A memorandum of Cranfield's summarized in *Hist. MSS. Comm., Fourth Report*, I. 281, estimates receipts from tobacco in the next year (*i. e.*, from Roe *et als.*) at £16,000.

ported beyond the Seas, and not to bee vented in his Majestie's Kingdome of England or Dominion of Wales. And yf this our offer may bee accepted of wee will tender such Articles for the Patent to bee drawne up by as is fitt for his Majesties service and reasonable for us to have.

Alsoe wee humbly desire that the Patent for the Garbling of Tobacco<sup>108</sup> may upon reasonable composition bee passed over unto us, for haveing that Patent wee will soe marke all our owne Tobacco as wee will not easely bee deceived, and soe those officers may serve for both uses, And all which wee humbly leave unto your honours further considerations.

[*Endorsed by Cranfield.*] Offer for Impost Tobacco.

XXIX. IMPORTATIONS OF TOBACCO, SEPTEMBER 29, 1614, TO SEPTEMBER 29, 1621.<sup>109</sup>

An abstracte of what Spanish Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco hath bin imported into the Porte of London and the Out-Portes from Michaelmas 1614 to Michaelmas 1621, vizt.

	Spanish	Virginia and Bermudos		Spanish	Virginia and Bermudos
	100926	00000		01351	0000
1615	56925	02300		01406	0200
1616	45279	18839		01797	0000
1617	57058	49518		08371	0150
1618 London	119634	45764	Out-Portes	08493	0000
1619	97149	117981		12248	1040
1620	159873	73777		14520	0000
1621					
	636844	308179		48186	1390

The Medium per annum of Spanish Tobacco in London and the Outportes is . . . . .	97861 3/7
The Medium per annum of the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco etc. is . . . . .	44223 1/7

Some Totall	142084 4/7
-------------	------------

97861 3/7 lb. of Spanish Tobacco at ii s. per pound<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Garbling was governmental inspection, for the protection of the consumer. A patent for the office of garbling tobacco for thirty years was granted May 25, 1619, to Francis Nicholls and others. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1619-1623, p. 47.

<sup>109</sup> No. 6161.

<sup>110</sup> This line and the next are calculations of the impost on the above average annual quantities, the Spanish at 2 s., the ordinary rate (Beer, p. 109), that of Virginia and Bermuda at the rate of 1 s. to which the company had agreed on Jan. 8, 1620 (*Records*, I. 291). The third line calculates the five per cent. subsidy on the whole, at the rate of 6 d. a pound.

is . . . . .	9786 . 03 . 00
44223 1/7 lb. of Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco at i s.	
per lb. is . . . . .	2211 . 03 . 02
	<hr/>
	11997 . 06 . 02
	<hr/>
142085 at vi d. per Pound is . . . . .	3552 . 02 . 06
	<hr/>

[Endorsed:] The medium of Tobacco imported into the port of London and Out-portes for vii yeares endinge at Michaelmas 1621.

[A duplicate, doc. no. 6171,<sup>111</sup> has the following addition, in the handwriting of Richard Willis, but signed by his patron:] 30 June 1622. Lett distinction be made, how much of this tobacco is Leafe Tobacco, and how much is Rowle and Pudding Tobacco; because the rates are severall. L. CRANFEILDE.

XXX. NOTES OF RICHARD WILLIS CONCERNING TOBACCO, 1621 (?).<sup>112</sup>

A proclamation to prohibit the plantinge of Tobacco in Ireland with reference to the proclamation<sup>113</sup> and a transcript of the like to be sent with the King's warrant.

A proclamation accordinge to the old forme, for restrayning the Importation of Tobacco into Ireland or to do it by letters as effectual; and therin to advise with Mr. Attorney.

A letter to the Kinge to take notice of the wronge of exporting the Virginia Tobacco into the Low Contries; and to procure his Majesties express letters to both the Companies that the plantations to prohibit theyr uttering of any other comodities then in England and Ireland.

To speak with Geles<sup>114</sup> for compounding aboute the seisures of Tobacco, at the rate of the former composition.

To take some course that the patent of Importation of Tobacco in Ireland may not prejudice the contract with the plantacions.

To send the warrant to Mr. Attorney for dispatch of the patent.

The Patent for Garbling the Tobacco to be provided for, in some fytt and conveyent manner.

[Endorsed:] Tobacco.

<sup>111</sup> No. 6161 is marked in red ink as no. 7, no. 6171 as no. 18, and these are the numbers by which Peckard described them when he borrowed them from the Duke of Dorset. *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 161.

<sup>112</sup> No. 6189. The date must lie between July 18, 1620, when the company resolved to send surplus tobacco to the Netherlands (*Records*, I. 406, 422) and the complaints of the Privy Council thereon, Oct. 12, 1621 (I. 526).

<sup>113</sup> *I. e.*, to the English proclamation of Dec. 30, 1619; see note 104, above.

<sup>114</sup> Probably Richard Gyles of doc. no. XXXIV.

XXX. DRAFT AGREEMENT FOR THE FARM OF TOBACCO, NOVEMBER 19, 1621.<sup>115</sup>

Agreementes made with William Burton and Peter Sanderson concerning the Tobacco farme.

19 November, 1621.

They are to have in farme the Impost and sole Importacion of all tobacco (except that which comes from Virginia and Bermudos) for one wholl yeare from Michaelmas last 1621 at Eight Thousand pounds rent payable half yeerlie at the Anunciacion and Michaelmas or within 40 daies after either feast.

They are to be lymitted not to exceede the proportion of Three skore thousand waight in the wholl upon this bargaine. And if they or any for them their partners or factors bring in more, they are to paie ii s. vi d. impost upon everie pounce that shall exceede that proportion over and above the Rent aforesaid.

To the ende there maie be the better reckoninge kept for the Kinge, of what shalbe brought in upon this Contract, the same shalbe unladen in the port of London onelie; except by extremity of wether at Sea, they be dryven into anie other Port; and in that case to give notice to the Kinge's officers, before they unlade.

They are to have such covenantes for assistance with libertie to assigne bondes to the Kinge as is usuall in Grauntes of like nature: as also to serch seize and carrie to the Kinge's storehouse at the Custome house any Tobacco imported contrary to this priviledge.

[*Reference to attorney general for preparation of patent:*] Mr. Attorney—I pray you drawe up a Bill for his majesties signature to warrant the passing of this Graunt to the parties abovenamed.

The fee of 150 l. per annum graunted to Mr. Abraham Jacob out of the Tobacco by former letters patentes,<sup>116</sup> is to be contynued unto him, accordinge to his Majesties said graunt therof.

[*Endorsed:*] 29 November 1621, Agreement for the farme of tobacco.

XXXII. PROPOSALS AS TO LICENSING RETAILERS, 1622.<sup>117</sup>

The conditions and articles of agreement betwixt the King's Majestie and the undertakers for the granting of lisenses to all those that shall sell or retaile Tobacco within his Majestie's dominions of England and Wales.

<sup>115</sup> No. 6193. Roe and his associates gave up their contract at Michaelmas 1621, and Abraham Jacob took it at a reduced rate. *Records of Va. Co.*, II. 68. Dec. 4, 1621, Cranfield wrote to Buckingham, "I have agreed with the farmers of tobacco for this year, for £8000, and have told them to bring in but threescore thousand weight, and have left the Virginia and Bowrmoothes free to bring in without restraint, and his Majesty to have the benefit of the impost. This is £2000 more than could be gotten by the Lords at Hampton Court". Goodman, *Court of King James the First*, II. 211.

<sup>116</sup> As collector. See doc. no. XXVI., and note 100.

<sup>117</sup> No. 6202. The licensing of retailers of tobacco was not actually carried into effect till 1633; its history is given in Beer, *Origins*, pp. 160-165.

1. First that a Proclamation bee granted from his Majestie that no Alehouse Tipling or victualing house nor any parson<sup>118</sup> of what trade or condition soever shall vente sell utter or retayle in there houses shops or warehouses any Tobacco of any kinde from [date blank] next without his Majestie's spetiall graunte or lisenice upon paine of his Majestie's high displeasure and of such further punishment as shalbe inflicted upon him or them so offending in his Majestie's highe courte of Starre Chamber.

2. That also those persons so liseniced to have pouer and authoritie to sease upon all suche Tobacco as theye shall finde unsealed by such a seale appoynted by his Majestie or sould without lisenices the one moyetie thereof to his Majestie the other parte for the seisor or informer.

3. That his Majestie assume unto himselfe by the said proclamation that this Tobacco to bee his owne commoditie by the lawe and costome of this his kingdome in regarde it is neither victum nor vestitutum.<sup>119</sup>

4. That this buysines be caryed by a commission graunted by certaine commissioners under the greate seale whome his Majestie shall athorise or appoynte giving them or any of them full pouer and athoritie together with such undertakers as his Majestie shall so assine there unto to give and grante lisenices to suche parsons as they shall thinke fitt and the said undertakers hereof only to levie take and receive such fines somes or somes of money as thie in there wisdomes shall thinke fitt and expedient in that behalfe.

5. That there bee pouer and authoritie graunted to the undertakers under the greate seale to appoynte commissioners whome theye shall please to send abroade into any Cittie Toune or Villadge in his Majestie's Dominions of England and Wayles and there to grante lisenices and to levy and reseive such fines and somes of mony as theye shall thinke fitt and reasnable.

6. That the said lisenice maye bee granted to continue for lives or 21 yeeres as the undertakers shall thinke expedient in theirre discretions for the better improvement of this buysines for his Majesties future benefitt and proffitt.

7. That a seale bee graunted by his Majestie to the undertakers for the sealing of the aforesaid lisenice.

8. That if it shall so happen by a Parlament or otherwise the undertakers shalbe hindred in theirre proceedings according to the true tenure and meaning hereof or bee withstood by any opposition or injunction and not have redresse against the opposers thereof that then and at such times the undertakers' Rente to his Majestie shall sease and determine without ther further troble or molestacion.

9. That his Majestie's Rente to begine the 25th of Marche next and so to continue for three yeeres.

10. That the undertakers shalbee bounde to paye unto his Majestie the some of five thousand pounds per annum to be paid at 2 equall payments

<sup>118</sup> Person.

<sup>119</sup> Meaning, neither *victus* nor *vestitus*.

vizt. 2500 pound at Michaelmas and 2500 pounce at our Lady dayes or within 40 dayes after.

II. That the Proclamation bee forthwith putt in execution and proclaymed and the undertakers to have the benefitt of the interim to settle the buysines.

[*Endorsed by Cranfield:*] Concerning the lycensing to sell tobacco.

XXXIII. NOTES RESPECTING THE FARMERS OF TOBACCO, JANUARY 4, 1622.<sup>120</sup>

Le 4th of January 1621

Securitie to be tendered for the rent of Tobacco beinge 8000 *l.* vidz. whereof 500 *l.* to be reserved for defalcacions for certayne Tobacco brought in by the Irishe men from the Amazonas<sup>121</sup> and the fee of 150 *l.* to Abraham Jacob, esquier.

It is humbly desired to have letters of assistants for serche and seizure of Tobacco which is refused. Also it is desired that Warrants from my Lord Treasurer to all the Portes of England for assistants of those deputies as shalbe employed in this service may be granted.

The names of the securitie as followeth

Abraham Jacob esquier	
Clement Harby merchant	<i>skynner</i>
John Wiseman merchant	<i>merchant tayler</i>
George Langham merchant	<i>merchant tayler</i>
Robert Oxwicke merchant	<i>draper</i> <sup>122</sup>
Henry Lee merchant	<i>grocer</i>
Thomas Hampson merchant	<i>haberdasher</i>

These thinges beinge performed the undertakers for the importacion of tobacco are ready to seale this securitie either to his Majestie or to whom your Lordship shall appoynt accordinge to such dayes and tymes as are lymited in the letters pattents.

More it is humbly desired that whereas there is a shipp lately arrived that hath brought great store of Tobacco from the Bermudos, whereof it is supposed by reason of a Racke of a Spanishe Shipp<sup>123</sup> upon the sayd lland that there is brought over in this Bermudo shipp some good quantitie of Weste India tobacco: In regard whereof the undertakers doe humbly desire that letters may be written downe to the Custome house, not to suffer this Tobacco to be delivered before such tyme as the sayd Tobacco be viewed by some appoynted by the undertakers to distingwishe the same,

<sup>120</sup> No. 6188. See doc. no. XXXI. The words in italics are in the handwriting of Richard Willis.

<sup>121</sup> By Capt. Roger North, some at least of whose investors were Irish. See *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 31-48, *passim*.

<sup>122</sup> See no. XI., *ad fin*.

<sup>123</sup> The *San Antonio*. Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, I. 240, 241, 257; *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 51-53.



and if any be fownd, to make stay therof, as likewise for all shippes that shall come from Virginia and Bermudos duringe the tearme of theire contracte.

[*Endorsed:*] Somer Islands.

[*There are also the following notes in the hand of Richard Willis:*]

Tobacco Farmers to be bound to Mr. Heryott.<sup>124</sup>

The want of powder in the Tower

King's Sedgmore

Mr. Auditor Gofton's<sup>125</sup> patent stayd

Lord Privy Seale's docquet

Mr. Harby for Mr. Wright

Mr. Duquester's letter

Mr. Townley a shoemaker over against the Black Spred Eagle in Little Drury Lane.

XXXIV. ROGER HALL TO RICHARD GYLES, APRIL 16, 1622.<sup>126</sup>

YARMOUTH the 16th of Aperell 1622

*Ser*

My comendations unto you beinge remembered Theise ar to sartifie you that I sent you the last weeke a letter concerninge som sarfese<sup>127</sup> which Hill and I did at Norwich for tobaco which wee seased beinge unsealed contrary to the procklymacion. Wee toke away from on<sup>128</sup> William Pleassantes 36 *lb.* of tobacow which was unsealed and from Enucke Verpost 22 *lb.* and from on Richard Mallom 13¼ *lb.* besids wee seased in on Jeames Fathering's alias Farthering howse (as wee take it his nam is so) som 60 *lb.* of tobaco and upwards which was unsealed But beinge resisted by hym wee went unto the maior of Norwich for to crav his aide and asistancs and he maeid a quicion<sup>129</sup> of our unabelnes whether wee wer abell for to anser the tobacow so seased by us or no; wee shewed hym first the procklimacion and the lord thresorer's writ of assistanc and the pattenties' deputation wher unpon he would do this for to undertake that the tobaco should be forthcomynge in the morning it beinge som what in the evening wee wer constarned<sup>130</sup> so to do. The next morninge when wee cam to the maior he had the tobacow in his howse and bed us go with hym for to see it wayed for wee should not have it But he would

<sup>124</sup> George Herriot held the farm of sugars. *Old Parl. Hist.*, VI. 152, 156, 171-172, 256; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1619-1623, p. 193.

<sup>125</sup> Sir Francis Gofton, auditor of the imprest in the exchequer.

<sup>126</sup> No. 6191. Probably the Richard Giles who in 1616 had a patent for ferreting out and burning false dye-woods. *Remembrancia*, pp. 120-122; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1611-1618, p. 407.

<sup>127</sup> Service.

<sup>128</sup> One.

<sup>129</sup> Question.

<sup>130</sup> Constrained.

keepe it for the Kinge and the partie said ther was not Brot but 45 lb. which remanes in Mr. maior's hand. I pray if the seaur be good as I thinke it take a course that wee may comand the tobaco from Mr. Maior. the parties which oweth the tobaco dose threaten us much for to arest us with prosses the next team for takinge away of ther tobaco. I pray advise me what course I shall take and what shalbe don with this tobaco which wee touke from them as also that which is in the maiore's hands, and so in haste I rest

Yours to comand

ROGER HALL.

[P. S.] I pray remember Mr. Tesmound's pack for to send order for the dellivry of it as soon as may be.

[Endorsed:] 23 Aprill 1622, From Roger Hall aboute tobaccoe.

[Addressed:] To his Loving Friende Mr. Richard Gyles  
at the Sign of the Anworth in Thames Street  
near Somers Key deliver this in London.

[The following unsigned draft warrant is attached to the foregoing:]  
After my harty comendacions, Whereas I am informed that diverse percells of Tobaccoe have bene found by the officers and Farmers' deputies of Yarmouth unsealed in the city of Norwich which they seized as goodes uncustomed and part therof was detained from them being the goodes of James Fatheringes alias Farthinge who as it seemeth much dependeth upon your favour and assistance to save his tobacco for the officers haveinge seized lx l. waight or thereabouts as I am informed were not permitted to take the same into the custodie as is usuall for matters concerning his majesties customs but that the same was taken into your possession as a favour to the said Fatherings alias Farthing and the officers rather discouraged then assisted by you as also more then halfe the tobaccoe detained by you and (as they suppose) changed for Virgenia or Bermuda tobaccoe instead of Spanish Tobaccoe, in regard wherof these are to will and require you to take such order as the whole quantety of tobaccoe be delivered to the officers that seized the same and that you give your best assistance for his Majesties service in all things touching the importacion of tobaccoe And soe I bidd you hartely farewell

Whitehall this [blank]

Your loveing freind

[Unsigned.]

To my loveing freind the

Maior of the city of Norwich

XXXV. NOTE OF RESISTANCE TO GARBLING, MAY 28, 1622.<sup>131</sup>

The 28th May 1622

The 27th present there did attend two appoynted for the garbling and sealinge that Tabbacco brought in by Mr. Hampson and the rest of the

<sup>131</sup> No. 6223. See no. XXVIII., note 108. The names of Wiseman, Hampson, and Oxwicke appear in no. XXXIII., that of Oxwicke also in no. XI.

contractors, sethence the 29th of September last according to ther owen desyre and appoyntment the 24th of this instant. Notwithstanding thes heireunder named and as they say with consent of the rest doe both refuse to have the sayd tabbacco garbled and also to pay the 4 *d.* per pound dewe for the garbling thereof.

Mr. Anys  
Mr. Wyseman  
Mr. Hampson  
Mr. Borne  
Mr. Charlton  
Mr. Oxewicke  
Mr. Sanborne

[*Endorsed by Willis.*] From Bridgwater.

Edward Crathen of Merton 500 quarters of wheate beanes and barly to be transported into Cornewall or Wales where he shall have best commoditye.

XXXVI. COMPLAINT OF RICHARD YOUNG, AND REPLY, JUNE, 1622.<sup>132</sup>

The losses of Richard Younge, Grocer, by the Patentees of Tobacco and their Deputies.

- |   |                  |                           |
|---|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. They took awaie in June 1621 42½ <i>li.</i> of Tobacco which cost xi <i>s.</i> per <i>li.</i> which by reason of their longe and ill keeping it 6 monethes beecame spoiled soe that I was compelled to sell it for ii <i>s.</i> vi <i>d.</i> per <i>li.</i> in which I loste | xviii <i>li.</i> | i <i>s.</i> iii <i>d.</i> |
| 2. Delivered them in money to have the same againe  |                  | viii <i>s.</i>            |
| 3. More taken awaie at the same time xi ownces of an other sorte which I never had againe worth   |                  | iiii <i>s.</i>            |
| 4. More taken from mee two rolles of 18 <i>li.</i> weight for the which I can prove the custome to bee paid and yet am forced to sue them for the same in thexchequer then worth x <i>s.</i> per <i>li.</i> as the informer himself offred for it                               | ix <i>li.</i>    |                           |
| 5. The charges of that suite allreadie  | iii <i>li.</i>   |                           |
| 6. Spent in the marshallseas <sup>133</sup>   | v <i>li.</i>     |                           |
| 7. To the messenger for his fees  | v <i>li.</i>     |                           |

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xxxx *li.* xiii *s.* iii *d.*

<sup>132</sup> No. 6199.

<sup>133</sup> A prison in Southwark, for debtors, etc., attached to the Marshalsea court (court of the lord steward and marshal).

Moreover they tooke away xix *li.* of rich leafe which cost xxx s. per *li.* by the wante of which I lost the custome of 2 loades and others of worth which was the best of my livinge.

[*Reference by the Lord Treasurer:*] June 30, 1622. Let the farmers for the importation of tobacco see theis, and give there present answeere herein. L. CRANFEILDE.

*Right Honorable*

The sole importacion of Tobacco was grownded uppon his Majesties proclamacion bearinge date the xx'th day of June<sup>134</sup> anno domini 1620 wherby all Spanishe Tobacco beinge fownd unsealed after the x'th day of July followinge is forfeited.

1. First for the 42½ powndes of tobacco or thereabouts heare mentioned, the same was fownd unsealed ten monethes or thereabouts after the tyme lymited in the proclamacion and for the lyinge of it sixe monethes it was his owne fawlte; in that uppon the first stay therof he was offered uppon makinge affadavitt that the custome was payd he should have his Tobacco delivered him; and as soone as he had made oathe, the same was soe delivered.

2. Secondly if he gave to the officers that went up and downe to helpe to cleare his Tobacco viii s. it is more then wee knowe, yet they might well deserve it.

3. Thirdly if he wanted 11 *oss.* of his waight it may very well be true, for wee understand he gave of his owne free will 11 *oss.* of Virginia Tobacco unto the officers when he tooke the rest away.

4. And for the 18 poundes of Tobacco the same was brought into Southwork to one Hockley his howse by a fellowe in the habitt of a saylor alleadinge he brought the same out of Spayne, and there offered it to be sould which beinge unsealed the same was theare sealed, and is by informacion put into the Exchequer wheare he may have a legall tryall as in all other cases of that nature for the safety of his Majesties Customes.

5, 6, 7. The seaverall charges he hath bin at, it is his owne faulte, and by his owne meanes beinge refractory to his Majesties proclamacion, graunt, and your Honour's warrant, in abusinge the officers when they came to doe theare service, and by force tooke, and yet deteyneth the Tobacco they fownd in his custodie beinge 53 poundes sealed in a bagge, which wee humbly desire may be delivered to his Majestie's use and those as seized the same; for by his meanes and such as he is, the whole bussines hath soe far suffered, as the companies are likely to be great losers and his Majestie much wronged in the tyme to come.

And if doubte be made of the truth of this certificate wee are ready by wittnes to prove it by oathe. All which wee humbly leave to your Lordship's grave consideracion.

<sup>134</sup> June 29, not 20. Am. Antiq. Soc., *Royal Proclamations*, pp. 27-31.

XXXVII. REPLICATION OF RICHARD YOUNG, JUNE 17, 1622.<sup>135</sup>

The replication of Richard Young to the answere made by the Farmers for the Importacion of Tobacco and their deputies to his former objections.

1. By way of affirmacion of his former objections, he doth averre and wilbe ready to prove them to be all true, as appeareth in that they deny not in their answere, any one of the objections, but excuse them by evasions and colour their owne fraudes and deceiptes with circumstance. And whereas they answere that he might have had his 42½ *lb.* of Tobacco againe upon affidavit that the Custome was paid, This Repliant affirmeth that in the presence of 8 or 10 of the Farmers by himselfe and the parties of whome he bought the same, he offred to prove the Custome thereof was paid, and that the same was of a sort of Tobacco, which they themselves knewe was lawfully bought.

2. Whereas they alledge, that if he gave to their officers that went up and downe to help to cleere his Tobacco viii *s.* it was more then they knewe, yet they might well deserve it, He replyeth that the labour was on his part, for that they made him (to his greate hindrance, losse of time and expences of money) attend them many daies which they clayme as a duety from every man that's in their power to deale with, neither was it a free guilt from this Repliant, for that they would have scrued from him 5 *l.* before they would yeild, (as he can manifest under the handes and seales of foure of them besides other witnesses).

3. That he wanted 11 ounces of his waight which they pretend he gave way of his owne free will to the officers when he tooke away the rest, He affirmeth that he never had it to give, after they first tooke it away, neither would any of them acknowledge the haveinge thireof but shifted it of<sup>136</sup> one to another.

4. Whereas they alledge, he may have a legall triall in the Exchequer for the 18 *lb.* weight of Tobacco: He confesseth it to be true, but not without the losse of halfe as much as the Tobacco is worth, besides the Tobacco itselfe wilbe cleane spoyled, before he shall obteyne the same tryall, whereas otherwise he might have had money for the same in his purse long since.

5, 6, 7ly. Whereas they say his severall charges hath beene by his owne fault and by his owne meanes, being refractory to his Majestie's proclamacion, graunt, and your Honour's warrant in abusing the officers when they came to doe their service, he replyeth first that all this expence and trouble is risen upon him by their negligence in refusing to seale that Tobacco, which himselfe bought of them and indeed it is their pollicie, for they refuse to seale three kindes of lawfull Tobacco which they by his Majestie's proclamacion are comaunded to seale, vizt. all Virginia and Burmothoes Tobacco which they receive benefit by, likewise all such

<sup>135</sup> No. 6195.

<sup>136</sup> Off.

Spanish tobacco as they seize or take composicion for, and oft times as in this particuler, the very Tobacco that is bought of themselves, whereby ensueth such a confusion, that the lawfull is not to be knowne from the unlawfull whereby they after finding the same Tobaccos unsealed in other mend's [*sic*] handes (though bought of themselves or otherwise allowed by them) they take that advantage thereof that they seize the same againe to bring a double benefitt to themselves which hath produced all this trouble and charge to this Repliant through their wilfull refusall to seale the same and so consequently he was noe way refractory to his Majestie's proclamacion or graunt, but the guilt thereof remaines entyrelly in themselves and for his obedience to your Honour's warrant and the officers the Constable and all his servantes wilbe ready to depose, that he offered them no violence: But was so farr from resisting or opposing authority that he willingly submitted himselfe to them, weighed the Tobacco for them, lent them a bagg, suffred them to seale it up with their owne signetts, and offred them the security of any of his neighbours for the producinge of the same, whensoever they or any of them should call for it. And for that one of them hath made oath, that he had bloud drawne of him, the same was onely a scratch against the chest by his owne suddeyne catching of the Tobacco from the same.

And so humbly submitting himselfe to your Honour not doubting but (he beeing ready to make prooffe of the truthe of all this) you will vouchsafe him that releife for theis his wronges that the equity of his cause shall meritt, And (as in duety bound) he will ever pray for your Honours happines.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Received 17 June 1622. Richard Yonge's Replication to the Tobacco Farmers.

XXXVIII. PETITION OF THOMAS VINCENT, 1622.<sup>137</sup>

To the right honourable Lyonell Earle of Middlesex  
Lord High Treasurer of England

The humble petition of Tho. Vincent, the assigne of John Deargomede de Lixbo.<sup>138</sup> merchant.

Humble Sheweth: That uppon your honours licence for a quantitie of tobacco to be brought into this port paying only the customes and impost for the same as in tymes past, uppon notice whereof the said John Deargomede hath consigned heither 2 pipes conteyning about 900 weight, the petitioner hath tendred the wonted customes and imposte but it will not be accepted without 4 *d.* per *lb.* for garbling the said Tobacco: which for that it hath not bene usuallie paid and was not knowne unto the said John Deargomede, your petitioner regarding his creditt and the profit of the

<sup>137</sup> No. 6169. The date must be subsequent to Sept. 17, 1622, when Cranfield was created earl of Middlesex.

<sup>138</sup> Lisbon.

said Spanish merchant forbearth to paie the same untill your Lordships pleasure be further knowne therein.

Maie it therfore please your honour to give order that the said Tobacco maie bee landed upon payment of the old duties: without anie other duties.

And your petitioner shall ever pray etc.

[*Endorsed by Richard Willis:*] A Spanish Marchant concerning the garbling of Tobacco.

XXXIX. CERTIFICATES RESPECTING TOBACCO, JANUARY 14, FEBRUARY 22,  
1623.<sup>139</sup>

May yt please your good lordship it doth plainly appeare unto us upon examynacion of the merchant's Factor and the oath heerunto annexed that the Tobacco in this peticion mencioned, was never intended to be landed within this Realme of England, but directly to be transported into Ireland as is aleaged Soe as in our opynions yt may please your Lordship to gyve order for the redelyvery of the said tobacco upon caution taken that the same shalbe shipped out of this Kingdome of England and not sold within this Realme all which wee humbly refer to your Lordship's further consideration.

Customehouse the xiiii'th January 1622

JON. HOLLOWAY, Comptroller.<sup>140</sup>

RIC. CARWARDEN, Su.<sup>141</sup> ABRAHAM JACOB, Farmer.

Wee the farmers of his Majesties Customes are contented that th'affore saide Tobacco shall passe without payinge custome or Impost provided good Caution be given for th'exportinge of yt out of this Kingdome, dated this xxii<sup>o</sup> February, 1622.

HENRIE GARWAIE, Farmer.<sup>142</sup> ABRAHAM JACOB, Farmer.

[*Endorsed:*] January xiiii'th 1622. Certificat of the farmers and officers of his majesties customes concerning Mr. Wood's Tobacco brought into Hull.

XL. CERTIFICATE RESPECTING TOBACCO, FEBRUARY 19, 1623.<sup>143</sup>

*Right honorable*

Upon examinacion of this peticion wee can find no likelihood that ther was any intent to land the Tobacco in England as appeareth by the affa-

<sup>139</sup> No. 6196.

<sup>140</sup> Apparently the Mr. Holloway who gave the company its balloting-box, and was thereupon made a member. *Records*, I. 315.

<sup>141</sup> Richard Carwarden, surveyor of the customs, as his father had been at an earlier time.

<sup>142</sup> Afterward Sir Henry Garraway, lord mayor of London in 1640, son of a chief farmer of the customs.

<sup>143</sup> No. 6197.



davit annexed yet it should seme the Searcher's servant hath landed the tobacco upon imaginacion that the same was put cut of one shipp into another within some of his Majestie's Ports which appears plainly to the contrary yet the same being landed cannot againe be transported without your honor's order which must be directed to the Searcher for wee can find no caüse of seizure. And for the duties outwards wee the farmers are satisfied and soe leave the petitioners to your honor's further directions and humblie take leave. Custome house, London this 19th February, 1622.

JO. WOLSTENHOLME, Collector.<sup>144</sup>

JON. HOLLOWAY, Comptroller.

RICHARD HENEY, Comptroller.

ABRAHAM JACOB, farmer.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Certificat of the officers and Farmers concerning some Tobacco to bee exported.

<sup>144</sup> Sir John Wolstenholme, one of the farmers of the customs, and son of a customs official, was one of the chief members of the Virginia Company and an ardent promoter of voyages of exploration, especially for the northwest passage. Robinson and Brewster applied to him to intercede with the Council; letter of 1618 in Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation* (ed. Ford), I, 77, 82, 85.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*L'Humanité Préhistorique: Esquisse de Préhistoire Générale, avec 1300 Figures et Cartes dans le Texte.* Par JACQUES DE MORGAN, Ancien Directeur Général des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Ancien Délégué Général en Perse du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Synthèse Collective, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1921. Pp. xix, 330. 15 fr.)

THIS book is the second number of a library of one hundred volumes, the *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique*. The first series of twenty-five volumes is devoted to pre-history and proto-history. M. de Morgan has already contributed generously to our knowledge of the earliest cultures of Egypt and the nearer East. He is qualified to take a cosmopolitan view of his vast subject. The book is divided into three parts: 1, "The Evolution of Industries"; 2, "The Life of Prehistoric Man"; 3, "The Intellectual Development and Mutual Relations of Peoples". It covers the whole of prehistoric time and life in all their aspects; not only in Europe, but with glances toward the almost unexplored regions of Asia and Africa, and even of America. The whole panorama is condensed in a volume of 330 pages, where space is also found for nearly two hundred plates. It is certainly an ambitious and hazardous undertaking. The author has made good use of his space. Both as explorer and student M. de Morgan speaks with authority. His conclusions have crystallized out of immediate acquaintance. He writes on a vast variety of subjects with a freedom, a vigor, and a certain bold caution which is always refreshing. We may shake our heads over his condensed arguments, where space does not allow even an attempt at completeness. But he always interests or fascinates us. We differ from him regretfully. The general tone of the book is cautious, that of a man who has made a world of facts the basis of his thought, who feels the narrowness and weakness of the foundations of many of our present theories, and warns us against premature and hasty generalizations. In his description of Lower Palaeolithic art and implements he shows us the world-wide distribution and general similarity of form of the earliest axes in Europe, Asia, and America. He doubts the probability or possibility of any single centre of their origin, and therefore of their chronological sequence. Hence Chellean, Acheulian, and Mousterian cultures represent not epochs but "sub-industries", forms of work, contemporaneous, dictated by local needs and aptitudes. He seems also to apply this to limited areas and provinces, like northern

Europe, where his argument is less convincing. Perhaps we have no right to expect that the surveyor of so wide a field can always find space to explain why and where the general rule fails to apply to details. The warning is certainly wise and timely.

The few pages devoted to Egyptian proto-history bristle with interesting suggestions. He objects to the current modern chronology as not allowing sufficient time for the successive stages of progress. His suggestion concerning Chaldaean or Asiatic influences on the earliest Egyptian development should attract the attention of Egyptologists, and will arouse opposition of believers in the autochthonous character of its civilization.

The author's survey of prehistoric pottery is less satisfactory. He seems to have despaired of finding any thread on which he can arrange and string his facts. Perhaps it could not be otherwise with so vast a subject. His account of the probable place of origin of the earliest use of metals might have been clearer even with our present meagre information. His treatment of the origin of the dolmen is excellent. His fifteen pages of "conclusions" summarize well the chief results of his study. The author has undertaken a most difficult task and is to be congratulated on his success. He has given us an excellent introduction to a field of surpassing interest and of steadily increasing importance to every student who would see and understand the trend and meaning of history.

*Les Indo-Européens: Préhistoire des Langues, des Mœurs, et des Croyances de l'Europe.* Par ALBERT CARNOY, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. [Collection Lovanium III.] (Brussels and Paris: Vromant et Cie. 1921. Pp. 256. 7 fr.)

THIS is the first modern book on its subject, by a competent scholar, in the French language; and there is even yet none in English. It should therefore be welcomed, especially by those who do not read German easily. It is much more compact than the similar German works of Schrader, Hirt, or Feist—a great advantage to those who wish merely a layman's general orientation. To such, one can recommend heartily the chapters in which, in a few clear strokes, are sketched the outlines of prehistoric Indo-European culture, as they appear to present-day philologists. Beyond these, we find the usual discussions of the original home (Carnoy, following Schrader, puts it in southern Russia; he is particularly sure that it lay eastward, and was not in Germany), and of the race of the primal Indo-Europeans, which he connects with the brachycephalic "Alpine" stock, not the dolichocephalic "Nordic", as generally assumed.<sup>1</sup> No proposed solution of either of these questions can command our confidence at present. Of course Carnoy does not confuse race with language; he means only the speakers of the *Ursprache*. But the fact is that, for aught we know or probably ever shall know, they may have been

<sup>1</sup> Similar views have been expressed, though more hesitantly, by others, e.g., De Michelis, *L'Origine degli Indo-Europei* (Turin, 1903).

nearly as mixed in race as the peoples of Central Europe to-day. Further speculation seems hardly fruitful. And the chapter on "Le Caractère des Indo-Européens: leur Rôle dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation" might better have been omitted, in the reviewer's opinion.

One-third of the book deals with Indo-European religion—the author's predominant interest. Here he necessarily relies largely on comparisons of ideas, not of words. The results are less conclusive, as the author usually, though not always,<sup>2</sup> recognizes. Yet perhaps the most stimulating and original features of the book are found in this part.

Misprints are not rare, nor are minor slips for which the printer cannot be blamed. Greater care in small matters might have been expected from so good a scholar.<sup>3</sup> For the "general reader" these are unimportant, as they seldom vitiate the conclusions drawn.

Carnoy's style combines condensation with perfect lucidity, and makes the book one which anyone can not only understand, but enjoy.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

*Invention, the Master-Key to Progress.* By Rear-Admiral BRADLEY A. FISKE, LL.D., United States Navy. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1921. Pp. ix, 356. \$4.00.)

THIS is a remarkable book, noteworthy alike for the range of its subject-matter, for the breadth of its views, for the wealth of its illustrative materials, and for the clearness with which the author develops his arguments. The fact should be emphasized, however, for the benefit of the prospective reader, that the term "invention" is used in no narrow sense, and least of all in the popular sense of something which leads to riches by way of letters-patent or other forms of monopoly. To the author the term applies to the entire group of activities that have led to discoveries and advances in man's slow ascent from barbarism to civilization. To him the creative works of artists, poets, philosophers, statesmen,

<sup>2</sup> On p. 172 we are told that "mythologists now agree" that Mitra was originally not a sun-god. Contrast Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 182: "The one solid point in the genesis of these myths is the solar character of the Aryan Mitra." Yet both Carnoy and Bloomfield are sober and responsible scholars, and specialists in Indo-Iranian mythology!

<sup>3</sup> P. 12, "russ. *ogni*", read "anc. slav. *ogni*"; p. 13, Sanskrit "*tishtâmi*, *tishtâsi*, *tishtâti*", read *tishthâmi*, *tishthâsi*, *tishthâti*; p. 19, "anc. slav. *seto*", read *sûto*; p. 83, "anc. slave *vasna*", read *vesna*; p. 88, "*ficus religiosa*", read *f. infectoria*; p. 112, *tashita* is Iranian, not Sanskrit; p. 119, "*carbhuta*", read *cirbhata* or *carbhata*; p. 151, "sansk. *sabhâ*" means not "réunion de villages" but "meeting" (of people, not villages), and certainly does not help to prove that the IEs. had the concept of a "nation" (the old identification with German *Sippe* is, moreover, more than doubtful); Lithuanians are confounded with Letts (pp. 170, 187); p. 199, "Père Volga" should be "Mère Volga" (as correctly on p. 75); etc. Diacritical marks are employed or dispensed with seemingly at random. A peculiarly unfortunate misprint occurs p. 13, line 2, "*sti*" for *nti*.

military commanders, captains of industry, and the designers and builders of canals, roads, and engines of construction and destruction are all, in appropriate measures, to be classed among the inventions of men. In this widely inclusive sense, inventions are held by the author to have been, and to be, the main factors in the evolution of mankind, and hence worthy of special attention by us and by our successors.

The aims of the book are set forth briefly by the author in the first paragraph of his preface:

To show that inventors have accomplished more than most persons realize, not only in bringing forth new mechanisms, but in doing creative work in many walks of life, is, in part, the object of this book. To suggest what they may do, if properly encouraged, is its main intention. For, since it is to inventors mainly that we owe all that civilization is, it is to inventors mainly that we must look for all that civilization can be made to be.

Again, on p. 8, in his account of invention in primitive times, the author makes plain that his vision is not limited by any special field of endeavor:

It may be pointed out, however, that the inventors of mechanical appliances are not the only men to whom original conceptions come; for original conceptions evidently come to the poets, the novelists, the musical composers, the artists, the strategists, the explorers, the statesmen, the philosophers, the founders of religions and to the initiators of all enterprises great and small.

The book consists of sixteen chapters, each with a clearly suggestive title. Some of these, without being sensational or sententious, are so striking as to justify quotation here: IV. Invention in Rome: its Rise and Fall; V. Invention of the Gun and of Printing; VIII. The Age of Steam, Napoleon and Nelson; XI. Invention and Growth of Liberal Government, and American Civil War; XIII. The Conquest of the Ether—Rise of Japan and the United States; XV. The Machine of Civilization, and the Dangerous Ignorance concerning it shown by Statesmen.

What the author has to say in the last two chapters of his book is of profound significance to the future of our race. He has shown that what he calls "the Machine of Civilization" is a highly complex aggregate, requiring many specialists of many kinds to keep it in running order. But while this aggregate is growing daily in complexity and in the delicacy of adjustment of its parts, the author asserts there has been no corresponding growth in the capacities of the men who are actually in charge of the "Machine". Thus he writes, p. 335:

Now it is to the hands of statesmen of each country that the actual management of the Machine of Civilization is committed. Yet it is a well-known fact that, although there are but few men in the world so wise and learned that they know much about the Machine or any of its parts, it is not from the wise and the learned class that the great officials of government are selected!

This fact [he continues, p. 336] demands attention. Of what avail is it to train men to handle the separate parts of the Machine, if the Machine as a whole is to be handled by untrained men? Of what avail is it to train engineers, warriors, priests, physicians, lawyers, and merchants to handle their several parts, if the Machine as a whole is to be handled by statesmen who have not been trained to handle it?

These are pertinent questions at the present epoch, especially in view of recent governmental experiences, demonstrating, many are coming to think, the inadequacy of the administrative parts of governmental machinery. We have "mulled through" the recent crisis, but civilization must ultimately break down, according to our author, unless we are able to secure a higher degree of competence on the part of the men we choose to direct our affairs.

The book deserves to be widely read. Although of necessity fragmentary, since it alludes to a great variety of topics and to a large number of individuals, it is full of fruitful ideas set forth in vigorous terms. We may not approve altogether the author's style or his conclusions, but it must be admitted that his style is always clear and that his conclusions are generally sound.

The volume is supplied with a good index.

R. S. WOODWARD.

*Terrestrial and Celestial Globes: their History and Construction.* By EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Ph.D., LL.D. In two volumes. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xxvi, 218; xi, 291. \$12.00.)

THIS work is by America's foremost historical geographer and cartographer. It is the first detailed work of its kind in English and it is the only extensive historical treatise on terrestrial and celestial globes in any language. The narrative reads easily. With the illustrations in juxtaposition, one may read as if listening to a series of lectures by an enthusiastic lecturer. There are 168 illustrations and twelve tail-pieces. They are good, on the whole, considering the reductions and the difficulty of photographing for half-tone plates the curved surfaces of spheres, and are introduced to show their general appearance, rather than with the expectation of providing minutiae. However, they emphasize the opportunities for future independent monographs, with large reproductions, and critical data—desiderata which are needed "to the end of clearly setting forth their great documentary value". The important legends on the globes are cited verbatim in the text, and translations generally follow, so one may skip the Latin, German, etc., and read on in English. Stevenson has endeavored to list and briefly describe all globes "from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century". When he began, it was thought that about 100 extant globes might be located, and some others now lost might be mentioned; but the result of years has been the listing of more than 850 of them.

The work is divided into fourteen chapters. The "foreword" and chap. XIV., taken together, are essentially a résumé of the whole work. The logical division is: Terrestrial Globes in Antiquity (I.); Celestial Globes in Antiquity (II.); Globes constructed by the Arabs (III.); Terrestrial and Celestial Globes in the Christian Middle Ages (IV.); Globes constructed in the Early Years of the Great Geographical Discovery (V.); Globes of the Sixteenth Century (VI.-IX.); Globes of the Seventeenth Century (X.-XI.); Globes of the Eighteenth Century (XII.-XIII.); The Technic of Globe Construction—Materials and Methods (XIV.). There are references and elucidations at the end of each chapter; also a bibliographical appendix (II. 220-248) of works cited, and some others, "as a working list" for "further investigations". This is followed by an ingenious index of globes and globe makers (II. 249-273), from which can be quickly discerned the name of the maker, the kind of globe, the given or approximate date, diameter in centimetres, references to text where described, and location of extant exemplars. A general index (II. 276-291) completes this work, printed in an edition of a thousand sets by the Yale University Press on "Old Stratford" paper.

Globes were made primarily "for the useful purpose of promoting geographical and astronomical studies", and secondarily they were "considered almost essential as adornments for the libraries of princes, of prosperous patricians, and of plodding students". Time was when historians neglected the early newspapers and magazines as fundamental sources. Too much, even now, the old maps, portolan charts, and globes are neglected in the interpretation of old narratives and documents, for only by understanding the geographical ideas regnant in a period can the language of that period, as used by navigator or explorer, be assessed. From ancient times only one exemplar has survived, the Farnese celestial globe of marble, accredited to the time of Eudoxus (fourth century B. C.). The Mohammedans constructed celestial but not terrestrial globes. In the so-called Dark Ages geography and astronomy were studied and taught, "and globes celestial as well as armillary spheres, if not terrestrial globes, were constructed". Behaim's globe of 1492 is the oldest extant terrestrial globe. The post-Columbian period was at once rich in great advances in geographical depiction, first on great plane maps, and then on metal globes or globes covered with paper gores. Thereafter the terrestrial globe in Europe had diverse forms. In Italy the manuscript or metal globe had favor, whilst in northern countries copper-engraved gore maps were favored and found their climax in the wonderful works of Jodocus Hondius, the Blaeu family, and others in the Netherlands. The mountings often presented a remarkable art in themselves.

It is regrettable that a work, otherwise so fine, should be marred by numerous evidences of careless proofreading, and perhaps also of faulty copy. Some definite examples are: vol. I., p. 12, for "Philipps" read



Phillips; p. 45, in "Opus Magnus" read Maius; p. 141 (and elsewhere), for "Thatcher" read Thacher; p. 143 (and II. 230), for "E. H. Hall" read Elial F. Hall; p. 143, for "Lafrere" read Lafreri; p. 144, read Zondervan; p. 167 (Naples library), read Nazionale; p. 203, not "Leenwarden" but Leeuwarden, and not "Miller" but Muller; p. 210, for "Heriot" read Hariot; p. 211 (and II. 272), for "Plantin-Moritus" read Plantin-Moretus; vol. II., p. 94, l. 5, for "Society" read Association; p. 179 (Urbino library), read Universitaria; p. 220, George Adams, elder and younger, in confusion, and "geographical essays" should be graphical essays; p. 220 (Albertus Magnus), for "Leyden" read Lyons; p. 221, Badia and Del Badia duplications; p. 222 (Beste), read under, and 1867 accessible edition should have been added; 223 (British Museum), for "1841" read 1881; 228 (Frisius), repeated under Gemma; 228 (Garcia), for "navigation" read navegacion; 231 (Harris), for three times "et" read and, and other errors; 231 (Harrisse), his Cabot issued in 1882, not 1862; 234 (Kramm), several errors; also error in 236 (Marchese, and Medina); 238 (Navarrete); 241 (Restout); 242 (Schmidt); 246 (Vivien, and Waldseemüller).

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Middle Ages, 395-1272.* By DANA CARLETON MUNRO, Dodge Professor of Medieval History, Princeton University. (New York: Century Company. 1921. Pp. iv, 446. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR MUNRO'S *The Middle Ages* forms the fourth volume in the *Century* series of which Professor George L. Burr is the general editor and of which so far only this and the volume by Professor Bourne on the Revolutionary period have appeared. Its general character and purpose are thus obviously dictated by the scheme of the series as a whole. It is a text-book, but it is not a book of texts. It aims to tell something about almost everything, to give a current narrative of events in all important countries, including England, and also to deal specially with institutions, social, religious, economic, and intellectual. Of the thirty-three chapters, six are thus set apart for such subjects as the nobles, the peasants, towns and trade, monasticism, heresy and the friars, the universities, and feudalism. The remaining chapters follow the general course of European history from the beginning of the Germanic migrations to the death of St. Louis, in other words, to the full splendor of the distinctively medieval civilization.

The problem of such a book is a very perplexing one. The vast mass of material, all of it subject to the uncertainties of a time distinctly unhistorical in its attitude toward the world, makes drastic sifting imperative. The relations of society become more complicated as one moves on from the simpler forms of early Germanic life to the closely interlocking

stratifications of the feudal state. Above all, the intrusion of a wholly new element, the all-embracing church system, creates a situation new to history, demanding, not merely a familiarity with documentary and narrative material, but a profound insight into the motive forces lying beneath the record.

Professor Munro attacks this exacting problem with the patience and steadiness of a veteran scholar and teacher. He does not parade his material but at frequent intervals selects from it such characteristic bits as serve to illustrate his narrative. The story itself moves steadily along on an even level. There is little contrast of light and shade and, happily, no attempt at "fine writing". The excellence of these traits is seen especially in the earlier chapters where the great mass movements of the peoples can be dealt with in broad strokes and with a certain sureness of touch.

Later, when personalities become more important, these steady-going qualities are less effective. Even such an epoch-making figure as Karl the Great rather sinks into the general level. In the account of the mid-medieval conflict of Church and State, on the other hand, the great issues are often obscured by undue emphasis upon personal motive. To say that "Gregory felt that a married priest could not give his whole service to the Church" is to assign a very inadequate motive for the passionate propaganda of a Peter Damiani. That the reproofs of Gregory made Henry IV. "intensely angry" is not greatly to the point. The summing up, however (p. 174), shows that the author fully grasps the meaning of the great struggle.

Criticism of a book of this type is always embarrassing. To pick out defects of detail is mere pettifoggery. The real question is whether the book will serve the only purpose that can justify its existence, that is, to provide a background for further study and to stimulate interest in the subject. The answer to that question depends here as always upon the quality of the teacher who uses it. In the right hands this volume may open the way to an intelligent understanding of a difficult period. In the wrong hands it could hardly make a very definite impression. It is an honest, solid, useful piece of work with no claim to "originality" either in research or in point of view.

Of the eight maps three suffer from the usual defect of including under "Europe" vast stretches of Russia, Asia, and Africa and thus reducing the scale so that there is little room for detail, an unfortunate circumstance in an elementary book. The other maps illustrating special conditions are rather better, but these too are painfully bare of details. The bibliographies are sufficiently full to provide "collateral reading", though here we miss all reference to specific selections of original material, always the most stimulating pabulum for the thoughtful student.

E. E.

*Histoire de la Nation Française.* Par GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome XII., *Histoire des Lettres*, volume I., *Des Origines à Ronsard.* Par JOSEPH BÉDIER, ALFRED JEAN-ROY, et F. PICAVET. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1921. Pp. 590.)

M. FRANÇOIS PICAVET's survey of Latin literature, which opens this new volume of Hanotaux, begins with the writings of the Gallo-Romans of northern Italy, and continues with authors of French birth down to the eighteenth century. Claiming that the "French soul" first expressed itself in Latin, and emphasizing the influence of Latin on literature in French, M. Picavet finds in the works of the Carolingian period a steady growth of French national feeling, and attributes the ideas and many words of the larger part of French literature of the twelfth century to a Latin renaissance, which also carried with it the especial qualities of clarity, precision, and order. It was through translations from Latin that French authors of the thirteenth century gained in flexibility and elegance, while the Renaissance of the fifteenth led them to a correct understanding of the spirit of antiquity.

This outline is followed by a chapter on the *chansons de geste*, by M. Bédier. Affirming quite positively that the earliest known epics, *Roland*, the *Chanson de Guillaume*, and *Gormond et Isembard* started with pious legends that centred around Blaye and the road to the Pyrenees from Blaye, the monastery at Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, and Saint Riquier respectively, M. Bédier sees these legends stimulated by the rising vogue of the pilgrimage to Santiago, often made under armed escort, and broadened by the belief that Charlemagne, whose fame was fostered by his many religious foundations, had once gone that way. Given substance by borrowings from chronicles and epitaphs, they were rhymed toward the middle of the eleventh century, when the monks shared them with the minstrels who entertained the crowds at the various shrines. Thus clerk and singer joined to announce warfare with the infidels as the peculiar mission and glory of France. Before this time the French epic did not exist in any shape. But it had prototypes in medieval Latin, not yet determined.

All manuscripts of the epic except the Oxford *Roland* date from the thirteenth century or later. In numerous instances these manuscripts contain only revisions of earlier originals. They occasionally offer also competing versions of the same poem, a feature probably due to the efforts of associations, formed to exploit the epic, not to infringe on one another's literary rights. Retaining a popular plot they would vary the language. The mass of epic poetry was divided, primitively perhaps, into three sections, or *gestes*. The *geste* of the king presented the theocratic idea, crusades under the leadership of Charlemagne. The second *geste*, of Garin de Monglane, saw this sacred calling pass from Charlemagne's degenerate descendants to a younger family, whose utter devotion to the holy cause strongly contrasted with the indifference of an indolent court.

The third, the *geste* of Doon de Mayence, told of strife among Christians, of the perils of individualism, of the results of pride and "desmesure". Conflicts between feudal fealty and blood ties in this *geste* frequently gave rise to highly dramatic situations.

The remaining kinds of medieval French literature, down to 1547, are discussed by M. Jeanroy in the second half of the volume. Measuring his subject approximately by centuries, and including a chapter on Provençal authors, to whom he assigns the invention of the *nouvelle* while denying any direct contact between them and the French lyrists during the Second Crusade, M. Jeanroy shows a preference for the naturalness of the *roman d'aventure* and its variety of plot, notes the infiltration of Greek novelistic material into Western fiction, and looks to a more correct interpretation of the music of lyric poetry for a better understanding of it.

The thirteenth century, of a realistic trend, began to replace poetry with prose, for greater freedom, and to avoid word-padding in order to fill out lines. Arthurian poetry had been restricted in ideas and was conventional, but the prose *Lancelot* discloses a study of character and a conversational style. The *jeux-partis* of the day still interest by their personal tone; and allegory produced in Jean de Meung, not a subversive spirit, like Voltaire, but the first humanist. Under Philip the Fair social conditions were freely criticized, and the early fourteenth century saw many religious and political treatises. But imagination was lacking and lyric poetry docilely accepted its recently fixed forms. Later, translations and prose fiction were favored, while poetry, personal as well as learned, found a Chartier, who was also the first writer of classical French prose.

In Chartier's day there were patrons of literature, and libraries of richly illuminated manuscripts were being formed. Charles d'Orléans's language was almost modern, and after him came Villon. A surprising development of the liturgical drama characterized the last half of the fifteenth century, and in addition there was comedy that professionals often acted, while outright materialism animated *Pathelin* and the works of La Salle. The reign of Francis I. witnessed the overturnings of the Reformation, a movement that M. Jeanroy tellingly analyzes, and after 1540 idealism returned, with romances like *Amadis*, and poetry after Italian and ancient models. The volume is abundantly illustrated throughout by G. Ripart, and also by René Piot.

F. M. WARREN.

*Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History.* Edited by Sir PAUL VINOGRADOFF, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Volume VI. *Studies in the Hundred Rolls: some Aspects of Thirteenth-Century Administration*, by Helen M. Cam, M.A.; *Proceedings against the Crown, 1216-1377*, by Ludwik Ehrlich, B.Litt., D.Jur. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. x, 198, 274.)

THE two monographs included in the present volume treat from opposite sides the same general constitutional question, namely, the position

of the king in regard to the law, and the responsibility of his officers. In seeking some guiding theory of monarchy, the medieval mind halted between two opinions: the one moral and religious, regarding the king as subject only to God and His punishments; the other adhering to the possibility of legal limitations. Both of these ideas are reflected in apparently contradictory passages of Bracton.

The surest test of monarchial rights Dr. Ehrlich finds in the practice of the courts, wherein the king was perpetually a litigant. Records of cases are abundant, although for a view of every side of the question the investigator must go far afield into the unprinted rolls of exchequer and chancery. A thorough analysis of all the royal claims that came into dispute in the thirteenth century confirms the sentient view of Maitland, that monarchial rights were "intensified private rights". This was not at all incongruous with recognizing that the king held a privileged position, which made him inaccessible to the ordinary forms of law. The first positive assertion that the crown is for certain purposes—*pro utilitate communi*—above the law is found in the celebrated case of 20 Edward I. Other cases give variants of the same principle. That special remedies should be devised for proceedings against the crown, far from being a matter of grace, as a later age might regard it, was at first considered to be an obligation, not the less real because it was moral. Much new light is thrown on the history of petitions, which the author, inclining to a Romanist view, believes were brought to a system by Edward I. as a result of his visit to Italy. It has not been proved, however, that in this or any other feature of English procedure the influence of the Church was more than a bare suggestion.

As to responsibility of officers, there was none except as the king himself permitted or required it. The development of a mode of accountability is traced by Miss Cam in the special inquests which Henry II. introduced and his successors elaborated. A careful tabulation of the articles and returns of these inquests shows a transition, from a stage in which the king's proprietary rights were the chief concern, toward a conception of public administration. In many instances the articles of inquisition, having thus been tested and applied, were incorporated by Edward I. into his statutes. Incidentally it is discovered how, from these "ragged rolls", the Statute of Rageman got its name. A scrutiny of the Hundred Rolls also reveals that the edition of the Record Commission is misleading in many points. The workmanship of both studies maintains the high standard of the series. It is a surprise, however, after what has lately been written, to find Parliament mentioned as a body of three estates. The literal abbreviation of references (*v.g.*, *C. D. D.*, *D. D. C.*, *A. P. E.*, etc.), without standardization, may also be objected to as causing a needless difficulty for the reader.

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

*The King's Council in the North.* By R. R. REID, M.A., D.Litt.  
(London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921.  
Pp. x, 532. 28s.)

"THE problem of the north", as it was defined twenty years ago in the pages of this *Review* (V. 440-466), has at length received treatment adequate to its importance and complexity. This problem was the outgrowth of a long provincial history of the country beyond the Trent, which for reasons of military defense had been made the seat of the greatest baronies, marcher lordships, and franchises of every sort. Strongly entrenched by local law and custom, these units remained into modern times a dangerous reactionary element in the kingdom, requiring exceptional forms of authority.

In the face of a strong tradition that the Council in the North was a creation of the Tudors, the author traces its origin to an enlargement of the general commissions of oyer and terminer such as were first granted by the Lancastrian kings to bring the country to order. By a fortunate discovery among the documents, it is shown beyond a doubt that the first establishment of a council was by Richard III., who from his own experience as a marcher lord enacted a statesmanlike plan for the government of Yorkshire and the Marches. Because it was a Yorkist measure the plan was not continued by Henry VII., nor was it resumed by Henry VIII. until events culminating in the Pilgrimage of Grace demonstrated its necessity. Resembling in some respects the Council of the Welsh Marches, the Council in the North is distinguished in points of contrast to this and every other conciliar organization of the period. For a rounded view of the system, therefore, nothing is now more needed than a similar study of the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Contrary to the usual opinion, it appears that the Council in the North never received the whole-hearted support even of the Tudors. Without statutory foundation, it rested solely upon royal commissions and instructions, which were altered from time to time according to the party or policy that happened to be dominant. Gradually deprived of its powers of administration, the Council continued for a century to function as a law-court, this phase of its history comprising the main part of the present work. Although records of cases are lacking, so strong was the impression made by the court upon the life of the community that sources of every other kind are remarkably abundant. The scope of its jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, in common law and equity, was perhaps larger than that of any other tribunal; in certain respects it went further than the Star Chamber, while in the matter of enclosures and tenant-right it took a course far more drastic than did the Chancery at Westminster. On the other hand, from the nature of the aforesaid commissions, its limitations were equally positive, so that the extent of its authority was always open to dispute, and ultimately even the right of the crown to grant such commissions was questioned. Like the Court of Requests the



Council was in a fair way of being "bled" to death, when Thomas Wentworth by a vigorous reassertion of its power brought the whole matter into the arena of political controversy. This is a most revealing chapter, which by weight of evidence carries the conviction that the court composed of the king's councillors in the North was on the whole assiduous and successful in the performance of its task; that compared with other courts it was neither severe, oppressive, nor corrupt; and that its fall, in depriving the country of a needed local court, was nothing less than a catastrophe.

The merits of the work as a product of research, bringing into view a new field of local and national history, need no further demonstration. In spite of its correctness as a whole, however, there are many minor errors that have, from lack of sufficient criticism, been allowed to stand. Misprints in names and numerals, as many as six on p. 482, are excessively frequent. Statute 6 Rich. II. (p. 51 n.) should be 16 Rich. II. There are disconcerting allusions to the "Council of State" and to "prerogative courts", which are terms of no constitutional validity, while statements concerning the Court of Chancery (pp. 66, 450) are incorrect as they stand. As a matter of historical synthesis the reviewer feels that descriptive material is regarded too much as accessory to a legal treatise, instead of being made a vital part of the theme. The search for new material has not been abundantly rewarded, but several documents of value have been printed in the appendixes.

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

*The Nicholas Papers: Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State.* Edited for the Royal Historical Society by Sir GEORGE F. WARNER, D.Litt., F.B.A. Volume IV., 1657-1660. [Camden, third series, vol. XXXI.] (London: the Society. 1920. Pp. xxix, 283.)

THIS volume completes the publication of the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas. Some of the letters fall within each of the years 1657-1660, but they are very unevenly distributed. More than half are within the period March, 1659-March, 1660. This period is not only the most thoroughly covered; its letters are also of the greatest interest and importance. Nicholas was at the time living in Bruges and receiving frequent reports from royalist agents in England. City, army, Parliament, all were being watched by them for any opening favorable to the king. As would be expected, the writers tell of the anarchy and confusion in England after the death of Oliver, and of the inability of Richard to maintain his position. They tell something of royalist plots and plans encouraged by those conditions. But greater chaos was not the chief hope of the royalists; rather the establishment of an orderly government, the return to power of the more moderate men. And so we find these correspondents of Nicholas keeping a close watch on the parliaments that sat during this



critical year, "Dick's Parliament" (p. 173), the Rump, the restored Long Parliament. There is even something on the elections to the Convention Parliament. The letters are brief, there is more of comment than of information; they are nevertheless a real contribution to the history of Parliament.

To the student of Parliament perhaps the most interesting of the letters is that of "Mr. Miles", dated May 9, 1659, which tells of the efforts of the leading Presbyterians of the Long Parliament to regain their seats in the Rump. Part of the letter bears quoting because of the information it adds to Prynne's narrative (*Old Parliamentary History*, XXI. 384-386). To the list of names given there, it adds those of Sir William Waller and Richard Browne, indicating clearly that they were distinct from Prynne's group. They "challenged their right for themselves". But there came also "a number more considerable of that packe [Prynne, etc., who had presented themselves on the 7th] that would usurpe the howse to themselves, and indeede they were the chiefe assertors of the old cause and first interrupted by Oliver's army. Of this party was Mr. William Perpoint, whoe never offered to sitt in the howse (since Prides forcible exemtion) till this tyme" (p. 134). This not only adds three important names to the list but helps to fill in a serious gap in our knowledge of Pierrepoint. Even more valuable is this in the light of the following from a letter of March 9, 1660: "Mr. Perpoint met Monke on his journey and had a whole days discourse in their coach together . . . Monke relies much on him" (p. 194). We are no longer surprised to find Pierrepoint heading the list of the new Council of State (*C. J.*, VII. 849).

Though the publication of the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas has extended over so long a period of time (1886-1920), the four volumes are similar in plan and treatment. That this is true of the text is a matter for regret. One is sorry to find the same adherence to the old form of letters. The interchanged use of *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, might be pardoned, but not *y<sup>e</sup>* as an abbreviation of *the*. Yet even *y<sup>e</sup>* might be forgiven, as a concession to antiquarianism, if the editor did not at the same time follow modern usage by introducing quotation-marks, the interrogation-point, and the apostrophe to mark the possessive case. But it is a satisfaction to find this last volume following the plan of the others as regards their very helpful notes and index.

FRANCES HELEN RELF.

*Matthew Prior: a Study of his Public Career and Correspondence.*

By L. G. WICKHAM LEGG, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. x, 348. 22s. 6d.)

PRIOR started life as a waiting boy in a London tavern. He rose rapidly in the world and soon became the companion of poets, politicians,

diplomats, and nobles of the first rank. Nevertheless, he is one of the most pitiful figures of the early eighteenth century, for he was never quite of the group with whom he associated. He was for some time sole English representative in Paris, yet he was never able to secure the rank to which his talents entitled him, largely because Queen Anne "thought it very wrong to send people abroad of mean extraction". Though he performed the essential duties of an ambassador, his official position was always ambiguous. His salary and expense money, moreover, were ever grossly inadequate to maintain an establishment worthy of the nation he represented. Times without number he humbly begged official superiors and men of influence at court to secure him an income for his legitimate needs, but all to so little avail, that at the moment of his recall he was in imminent danger of being held in Paris for failure to pay the debts he had incurred as a diplomat.

He seems, indeed, a puppet in the hands of fate. At least twice he was on the point of receiving suitable official recognition. Once he was thwarted by Louis XIV.'s acceptance of the will of Charles II. of Spain, the perennial invalid who passed away at last only after three partition treaties had been made in anticipation of his death; a second time Prior was disappointed by the death of Anne and the overthrow of his Tory friends—two events which spelled for him temporary imprisonment and permanent political oblivion. Yet he had proved of inestimable service to William III. in the trying years which witnessed the formation of the coalition against France, and assisted Bolingbroke in the tiresome, intricate negotiations preliminary to the Treaty of Utrecht.

Important as he was in diplomacy, Prior is better known as a poet, for he represents in poetry better than any one else, perhaps, the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. He is clearly a distant descendant of the Elizabethans, although this element is distinct only in his earlier poems, and then sometimes as little more than a faint flicker.

In spite of his public and literary career no serious biography of Prior appeared until that of Bickley in 1914. This writer emphasized the poetry of Prior, but the work under review stresses his political activity. Mr. Legg does, however, insist that far too little attention has been paid to Prior's prose, largely perhaps because such past masters of prose style as Swift and Addison flourished in his day. New light is thrown upon the preliminary negotiations from 1711 to 1713, indicating clearly that the Congress of Utrecht did little more than ratify the things already agreed upon by the French and English diplomats. Although Prior was suspected of Jacobitism, Mr. Legg suggests that Prior, far from being friendly to the exiled Stuarts, spied upon them for the benefit of the English ministries. The book also indicates that Prior held his place on the Board of Trade and Plantations for some time in spite of the Duchess of Marlborough, because the duke did not share her antipathy for Prior. Additional evidence from unpublished manuscripts shows the strong-

mindedness or stubbornness of the queen. One of Prior's letters sets forth in a clear way the political faith of the Tory that the monarch should be above and between parties.

On the period before 1711 this book is too largely a repetition of the work done by Bickley. Some of the same documents are printed *in extenso*, and several quotations are almost identical in scope and purpose. The preface of Mr. Legg's book intimates that it was perhaps practically completed before Bickley's work appeared. At least it was not sufficiently revised thereafter to rid it of repetitions. The second half of the book, however, is a distinct contribution to the subject, both in its literary and diplomatic aspects. The author insists too strongly, perhaps, upon the sincerity of Louis XIV.'s desire for peace in 1709, although this raises, of course, the much-controverted question of Marlborough's attitude in the same negotiations. Prior's last letter deserves more careful annotation (pp. 271-272). Shrewsbury became lord chamberlain in April, not in August, 1710 (p. 133). Fortunately Mr. Legg has given us of his extensive knowledge of diplomacy in the "Biographical Notes" (pp. 331-336), which identify most of the characters mentioned in Prior's letters.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

*Revolution from 1789 to 1906.* Documents selected and edited with Notes and Introductions by R. W. POSTGATE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xvi, 400. \$4.50.)

THE innumerable revolutions and attempts at revolution which have characterized the history of the past decade have begun to have their effect on history and its related activities. As after 1789 and 1848 and 1871 men turned their attention to revolutionary activities, endeavoring to explain and analyze the new phenomena, so now, looking back over the past century and a half in the light of the past ten years, there has begun comparative study of revolutionary movements, of which the present volume is an example. And as the first step in an intelligent appreciation of the subject is the collection of material, Mr. Postgate has done well to bring together the documents in the case.

He follows the temper of the times and the group to which he belongs, for to him revolution connotes chiefly social change or attempted change. His documents are for the most part of that character, and his comment and introductions are primarily of that nature. There is, for instance, a disproportionate amount of material in the documents of the French Revolution relating to communism, and that note prevails throughout the book. It does, no doubt, illuminate the career of communistic thought, but it is not fair to call a collection based on such an idea representative of revolution as a whole. For there have been political revolutions, too; and a series of documents relating to Italy which omits the Risorgimento and the name of Cavour, and which gives to it less than four pages of docu-

ments and to France in 1871 some sixty-two, seems somehow disproportionate. Moreover it is difficult to see why the documents relating to the Mutiny of the Nore were included, when, for instance, the constitution of the Confederate States is omitted, though the inclusion of a considerable amount of material from various champions of the cause of Ireland during the past century or more will be, to some minds, quite understandable.

All "source-books" are, of necessity, unsatisfactory to all except their makers, and it is not fair, perhaps, to inject one's personal opinion regarding the material they should include or exclude; and yet such judgment is equally inevitable. There is much in these pages for which we are grateful. But there are two criticisms which it seems are sound. The first is that of over-emphasis of the social element in the revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century. The second is against the bibliographies. These are often absurdly inadequate, as witness, in particular, that on the French Revolution. It seems to argue a certain unfamiliarity of the author with the literature of the subject of his book, beyond the field of his own special interest, and even there it is not always adequate. The histories of Chartism which have appeared so abundantly in recent years would certainly have afforded much material; and the now almost forgotten histories of the secret societies which once illuminated the darker ways of nineteenth-century politics would not have been out of place, however disillusionizing they may be. The history of revolution remains to be written—in another generation or two—but meanwhile we should not confine our energies wholly to social movements. Political movements were once of importance; perhaps they still are.

W. C. ABBOTT.

*The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine.*

By GEORGE O'BRIEN, Litt.D., M.R.I.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. Pp. xii, 624. £1 1s.)

THIS book is a piece of historical study under the form of a process of reasoning. It proves its point with a conclusiveness that at first invites suspicion: the demonstration fits the dogma with the exact inevitableness of scholastic forethought. Closer acquaintance, however, brings confidence in a bit of scholarship admirably done, though without quite dispelling a sense of strangeness at finding a chapter of nineteenth-century history conceived in the spirit of a schoolman's disquisition.

A treatise on Ireland going behind the issue of race and of church, and devoting attention solely to the ponderable and calculable well-being of the people, bespeaks self-restraint that is itself an achievement. Disaffection toward the Union came, so it is here argued, when increasing national impoverishment belied the betterment expected through political integration. In England the theoretical and official explanation of this

impoverishment was over-population. On the correctness of that assumption the argumentative justification of the Union—*i.e.*, the English—government's policy stands or falls. With exhaustive completeness the author shows the assumption to have been false. Between 1800 and 1850 Ireland, he finds, in relation to its actual and possible agricultural resources, was not over-populated. The array of official and unofficial evidence brought to bear upon the point is overwhelming, and, in its effect, final. No writer need advert hereafter to Ireland's population during these five decades without taking into account the refutation of the orthodox view that Dr. O'Brien here sets forth (part I., Agricultural Resources).

In part II. and part III., industry and public finance are discussed, but with deductions which are not unfamiliar. The student of the period will welcome, nevertheless, the skill with which Dr. O'Brien explains the interconnection of agricultural resources with industry, and of both with banking credit; of population with land laws, of ejectment acts with the franchise; in short, the interconnection of all economic phenomena. The unity of Ireland's economic history thus obtained makes this a desirable book of reference.

In the course of his arguments on over-population Dr. O'Brien prefers a charge which, in the judgment of the reviewer, casts an untoward reflection where it is not deserved, and which rests upon no substantiation beyond the author's *ipse dixit*. The sacrifice of souls which the orthodox view of over-population involved was ghastly enough; but Dr. O'Brien lays the direct responsibility for the tragedy upon the English government. It is at least debatable whether or not responsibility can be concentrated in such a melodramatic way. Contemporary statesmen who could do little more than follow public opinion, were expected to accept enlightenment from prevailing schools of economic thought. Were they therefore accountable for these schools? Was Liverpool or Melbourne or Peel or Russell personally responsible for the doctrine of laissez-faire, or for the public opinion that expected the classical economy to prove as advantageous to Ireland as to Great Britain? Surely a more catholic view would not carry the ethics of official responsibility to such length!

C. E. FRYER.

*The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815-1914.*

By J. H. CLAPHAM, Litt.D., Fellow of King's College. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. xi, 420. 18s.)

IN this book the author presents the substance of lectures which he has for some years given at Cambridge. He has, in the first part of the book, used some of the material in the chapter contributed by him to volume X. of the *Cambridge Modern History*, but has added a second and larger part, covering the period 1848-1914, which is entirely new. In each part he has followed the plan of treating separately the agrarian and the in-

dustrial history of each of the two countries, making eight chapters, and has inserted five more chapters on the commerce, communications, and credit institutions of the two countries, treating them more or less together.

Clapham's book does not cover so great an extent in time or in territory as Ogg's *Economic Development of Modern Europe*, which is most like it, of books that have previously appeared in English. It is considerably more rich in detailed statements of concrete fact than is Ogg's book. On the other hand it is necessarily more brief in its description of economic development than a work covering an equal period of time but limited to one country, like Sartorius von Waltershausen's *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. The field is so important, and has as yet been so little surveyed by scholars aiming to give a comprehensive account of economic progress, that a variety of treatment is highly desirable, and every contribution is welcome.

The outstanding advantage of the book is the opportunity which it offers to readers of English to study the economic history of the two states of the Continent which have in the recent period held the positions of greatest importance. For mature students, seeking a condensed but substantial account, it is by far the best book either on France or on Germany. The author shows the scholarly qualities that have distinguished his work in English economic history and organization: a wide acquaintance with the literature, critical and constructive ability, an agreeable style. The points which the reviewer noted for criticism are mere details in a book close packed with facts, and testify in his opinion to the general reliability of the work. P. 35, Slavic historians do not accept Meitzen's explanation of village forms (*cf. Hist. Zeitschrift*, 1913, CXI. 611); p. 120, Thernaux's ready-made clothes shop was not the first in Paris by at least fifty years (*cf. the advertisement*, 1770, by a Parisian tailor employing a number of workmen, of "un magasin d'habits neufs tout faits, de toutes espèces, de toutes tailles", quoted by Sombart, *Luxus und Kapitalismus*, p. 192, from Franklin); p. 125, the Bank of France was founded in 1800, not 1808; p. 130, the number of joint-stock companies credited to the period before 1800 appears to be much below Schmoller's estimate of several hundred (*cf. Jahrbuch f. Gesetzgebung*, 1893, XVII. 984); p. 136, Jackson's war on the U. S. Bank was before, not after, 1837. To say of the German department stores, p. 368, that "their history has not been written" is a sweeping statement, when so much has been written about Wertheim's and other stores. It is easier to forgive slips of this kind than it is to excuse the omission, from a book obviously intended for serious students, of a bibliography more systematic than that provided in the preface. The lack of such a guide will be felt the more as there are almost no references to authorities to aid the reader who desires to check a statement or to amplify the information contained in the text.

The author's plan of treating in one volume the economic history of two neighboring countries offers an opportunity to draw contrasts and parallels, and is well adapted to a philosophical study of the elements in economic progress. The author is not, however, inclined to generalize; he does so admirably sometimes, but prefers for the most part plain matter of fact. Under these conditions it is unfortunate that he has chosen to intersperse his chapters on France and Germany, so that, for example, a chapter on French industrial conditions is preceded by one on German rural conditions and followed by one on German industrial conditions; and the student who seeks to study recent French commercial policy finds it treated in two chapters separated by a chapter on rural Germany. Arguments that can be advanced for this arrangement lose their force if full advantage is not taken of the opportunity to apply the comparative method.

CLIVE DAY.

*Le Courrier de M. Thiers.* Par DANIEL HALÉVY. (Paris: Payot et Cie. 1921. Pp. 512. 20 fr.)

THE editor of this book, M. Halévy, explains in a brief preface that when he began his work, his purpose was merely to select and edit some interesting texts, that however he soon found that he would be obliged to explain those texts and show their connection with each other by means of notes, and that after he had finished his work he found that he had almost written a biography, but not quite. He wishes his book to be judged, not as a biography but as a collection of Thiers's correspondence, lighted up by notes on the facts mentioned and by the conversation or comment of contemporaries.

As an editor it would be difficult to imagine M. Halévy's superior. He has all the qualities an editor must have and several others which are not obligatory but are pleasing and advantageous. His notes are as interesting as the rest of the contents of the book and this is saying a great deal. Not only are they thoroughly informed but they show a fine reserve, a tact and judgment, a piquant irony never overdone, and a literary deftness and flavor eminently fitted to beguile away the classic ennui of the book reviewer.

The documents here given to the world, letters to and from Thiers and covering a period of more than fifty years, are from the manuscripts department of the National Library. These documents had undergone a process of careful selection before ever they were confided to that public repository. They were designed to make known, as the editor points out, "not Thiers, but Monsieur Thiers" (a very different personage) as Thiers himself, and particularly as Mademoiselle Dosne, his diligent and loyal sister-in-law and heir, wished him to be known. Thus many letters from or to the great man which might militate against the realization of the effect desired were suppressed by these interested censors and history



has, no doubt, lost certain revelations that would be highly appreciated. But despite this wilful impoverishment of our science, enough is left and more than enough to entertain and divert and instruct posterity about this man who did not relish being chaffed in this life and proposed to have as few liberties as possible taken with him after his departure from the earthly scene.

Born in 1797 Thiers lived until 1877. Not only was life thus generous to him but he touched it at many points. Very versatile, he was even more confident of his knowledge and of his rights to criticize than his versatility authorized. Beginning his career in Paris by a criticism of the salon of 1822 he ended it as founder of the Third Republic. There is a little of everything in his life and a great deal of a few things. Belonging by birth to the petty bourgeoisie he made a rich marriage and became a conspicuous leader of the upper bourgeoisie. In office when he could be, most of his time was after all spent in private life leading what the editor calls *la belle et paisible existence d'un grand seigneur de lettres*. Publishing his first volume on the French Revolution at the age of twenty-six, it was not till 1862 that the final volume of his *Consulate and Empire* appeared, a work that took seventeen years of his life, that won him a great position in the literary world and intoxicating encomiums from such men as Sainte Beuve, Prosper Mérimée, and Lamartine, and that is no longer read. Many of the interesting letters in this volume bear upon Thiers's activities, merits, and deficiencies as an historian.

Halévy, stopping in the middle of his book to cast a glance backward over the ground already traversed, says:

We have known Thiers the journalist, enemy of priests and nobles, financier, historian of the Revolution, mathematician, art critic, minister of the interior and chief of police, minister of public works; we have known him as protector and inspirer of artists, minister of foreign affairs, smitten with admiration for Italy, would-be historian of Florence, organizer of armies, military engineer, admirer of Rachel, historian of Napoleon, parliamentary orator, and politician broken to all the tricks of the Palais Bourbon; we have seen him attacking one monarchy, striking it down and erecting another in its place; serving this new one and then disserving it, now loyal and now disloyal; we have known him as a petty bourgeois, then as a great bourgeois; we have just seen him as a savior of society, and we shall see him in the future in many other forms, notably as general of an army, as an astronomer and a chemist. At the present (1849) we see him as a clerical (p. 256).

Indeed this free-thinker, upon whom Talleyrand had laid non-apostolic hands, became under the Second Republic the idol of the clericals, who were enthusiastic over his services to the Church and who, in the ebullience of their gratitude, even aspired to convert him, "since nothing is impossible for God" as one of them said. This particular thing, however, was either impossible for God or did not come within the purview of His desires.

One cannot summarize, even in a list of headings, this Protean personality who, according to Lamartine, had "enough saltpetre in him to blow up ten governments", who, according to Princess Lieven, was "a perpetual fireworks" and who, according to Metternich, was "decidedly not a statesman, but an acrobat"—a view, be it said, which Metternich did not continue to hold. Suffice it to say that Thiers, who made plenty of mistakes and had plenty of faults, grew in general in wisdom with advancing years, a heartening fact as the opposite would be most disheartening, that his last years were his most useful to his country and that he may confidently be said to have achieved his ambition, "a half a line in universal history", as he expressed it, although the Rhadamanthine Wells does not allow him that much in his, which is perhaps more of a compliment than not.

All phases of Thiers's activity, all the numerous personal contacts of the lively Meridional, most of the great scenes in French history for fifty years, are illustrated variously and strikingly in this valuable book, not one page of which is dull.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*Histoire de France Contemporaine.* [Lavissee.] Tome VIII. *L'Évolution de la Troisième République, 1875-1914.* Par CH. SEIGNOBOS. (Paris: Hachette. 1921. Pp. 512. 30 fr.)

In the eighth volume of the *Histoire de France Contemporaine* Professor Seignobos, writing upon the Third Republic from the adoption of the Constitution of 1875 to the eve of the World War, has fully sustained the high standard of the earlier volumes of the series, as described in the preceding number of this *Review*.

The volume is divided into four books. The first two, amounting to about three-fifths of the whole, relate the history of the internal political life of the Republic, the third describes its foreign and colonial policy, while the fourth deals with the social transformation through which France was passing. Within each book the arrangement into chapters and sections exhibits in an exceptional degree the admirable organizing skill which almost invariably marks French historical writing.

While recognizing that the method of arrangement employed has many advantages, especially for setting forth in lucid fashion the vast multitude of facts which must be presented to the reader, it seems to the reviewer that it was a mistake to separate the account of foreign and colonial policy and the description of the social transformation from the general narrative of political events. Each part suffers somewhat from its isolation. The most serious objection, however, is that the separation makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the reader to get a realizing sense of the whole series of events and changes which made up the life of France during the period which the volume covers. It would, no doubt, have been extremely difficult to put together all of the varied elements of

French life into a single narrative, but the reviewer feels confident that Professor Seignobos could have done it. Success in such an undertaking would have been a really great achievement.

The books devoted to political history are marked by an unusual degree of good judgment in the selection of things to be told or described, by clear and concise narration, and by penetrating and judicious estimates of men, measures, policies, and events. These estimates are confined to occasional sentences or short paragraphs, for in general Professor Seignobos writes in highly objective fashion, allowing the facts to tell their own story. Particularly noteworthy are the accounts of the elections, each with a careful analysis of the distribution of the vote, the description of party programmes, and the very clear indications as to where, at any given time, real political power was located. Special and perhaps somewhat disproportionate attention is given to the development of the socialist parties. The accounts of the crisis of the sixteenth of May and of the Boulanger and Dreyfus affairs are exceptionally well told and with a nearly complete absence of party bias. Even in the thorny matter of the controversies over the relations of Church and State Professor Seignobos has succeeded in writing most dispassionately.

The book upon foreign and colonial policy relates chiefly to colonial matters. Only one chapter, of thirty-five pages, is given to foreign affairs and most of that scant measure is used in sketching in brief form the general course of European rather than French diplomacy. This surprising brevity Professor Seignobos defends (p. 290) upon the ground that in a history of Europe diplomatic activities would demand a large space, but that in a history of France the treatment may be limited to the things which have produced some action by the French government, disturbed French opinion, or modified the conditions of French policy in Europe. It seems to the reviewer that, even upon the basis of that limitation, the subject has not been adequately treated and that the reader is left with a distinctly false impression as to the extent to which the life of the French people has been affected by the foreign policy of France and of other nations.

The story of the remarkable achievement of the Third Republic in the building up of a new colonial empire, second in extent only to that of England, is well told in four chapters, one each for north Africa, the Far East, and black Africa, and one on colonial policy. The regional chapters at times go into more detail than seems necessary.

The book on the social transformation describes in a remarkably interesting and effective way the changes which have taken place in the population, the conditions of social life, the agricultural, industrial, and directing classes, and the intellectual life of the country. The distinctive feature of these six chapters is their illuminating quality. An occasional excess of statistics is a pardonable fault in view of the general good judgment shown in the handling of difficult materials.

There are twenty insert plates of valuable illustrations, but no maps—though some are much needed for the colonial chapters—and no index.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

*Naval Operations.* By Sir JULIAN S. CORBETT. Volume II. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. Pp. xi, 448. 21s.)

THE first volume of this truly monumental naval history of the late war was reviewed in the *American Historical Review* of October, 1920 (XXVI. 94-96). It contained 470 pages, and ended with the account of the battle of the Falklands. The present volume is approximately of the same length, though of much greater bulk, owing to the very excellent strategical and other maps, of which no fewer than fifteen are folding. The book covers the raid on the Yorkshire coast of December, 1914, the Dogger Bank action, and the destruction of the *Dresden*, but the greater portion is taken up with the Dardanelles campaign. When the British government announced the preparation and appearance of an *Official History of the Great War*, there was much curiosity in regard to the character of such a work, published so soon after the events to be described and, presumably, to be criticized. Without allowing sufficient lapse of time for the necessary "historical perspective", was it not somewhat audacious to attempt more than the United States naval authorities were doing, namely, the collection and collation of the records and the publication of certain limited monographs?

It must be admitted that Sir Julian Corbett has solved this more than difficult problem in an astonishingly successful manner. While indulging in no high-handed apportioning of praise and blame, he presents the facts, be they favorable or damning, clearly and fully, so that the results stand out for themselves. At the same time he is ever jealous of reputations, and strives to present what was no doubt in the mind of a leader who failed of his purpose, as, for example, his apology for Admiral Cradock after Coronel. Very significant also is his invariable defense of men who have been blamed unjustly, like Mr. W. S. Churchill in the Coronel affair and that of the Dardanelles, and Lord Fisher in regard to the Dardanelles. Concerning the latter he says: "The loss at such a crisis (resignation from the Admiralty) of a man who bulked so large in popular opinion could only add to the general depression. To the country at large he was the embodiment of the old fighting energy of the navy—the man to whom we owed the organization and strategical disposition which rendered the German fleet impotent when the long-expected struggle began, and the all-embracing combination against Admiral von Spee which had given us our only decisive success at sea" (p. 410). Fisher's resignation started the débâcle of the cabinet, and "within five days of

Fisher's departure the leaders of the great parties in the State were sitting in council to form a Coalition Government". That Lord Fisher was in no manner responsible for the Dardanelles disaster is clearly brought out: "When Lord Fisher first supported the idea of perfecting the unity of the allied line by opening the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, he contemplated making the attempt with a strong combined force which was to strike suddenly and quickly. . . . It was only with reluctance that he had assented to the Dardanelles enterprise as it was actually undertaken, and so soon as it became clear that the political situation in the Balkans and the available military force gave no prospect of success by a *coup de main* he became frankly opposed to it." When his colleagues refused him the necessary forces to strike a quick blow he resigned.

In spite, however, of the manner in which Sir Julian has overcome the difficulty of writing history so soon after the events, the idea will not down that it would have been wiser to postpone the publication of the official history for a certain period, an idea to which the author himself gives color in his remarks upon certain authorities: "The publication of these works since the history began to be written has proved of great assistance in correcting false impressions and supplying gaps in our own information." It would be a hardy prophet indeed who should declare that no further important documents would come to light, and that no more useful, even vital and indispensable, books would appear. Any claim of finality must, therefore, be denied to any history written before all the actors in the drama have spoken and all the records have been filed. The present really marvellous work of Corbett, Fayle, and Hurd must, however, be admired and welcomed, for it may be doubted whether, at a future time, any authors could command that enthusiasm of style that raises even the description of commonplace occurrences out of the commonplace, and makes them throb with interest, that enthusiasm that flows from men still under the influence of the stupendous events they are narrating.

EDWARD BRECK.

*Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts: a Study in Military Geography.* By DOUGLAS WILSON JOHNSON, Professor of Physiography in Columbia University. [American Geographical Society Research Series, no. 3.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. xxvi, 648, and plates. \$7.90.)

ALL military operations culminate on the battlefield; the final test of a manœuvre is the battle which terminates it, its striking features are the skirmishes incidental to it. The soldier must study these engagements, for his is the responsibility of handling troops in battle. The civilian thinks largely in terms of battles, for the actual conflict is the visible evidence of the manœuvre behind it.

But behind it is the manœuvre, the strategy, of which the tactics are

the servant. This also the soldier studies, after he has gained a little knowledge of the technique and tactics of handling men in action. The civilian who goes into this is the one whose training leads him to ask "why?" when he reads the story of the battle. It is strong meat, dangerous to the immature or weak mental digestion.

Behind this again is military geography, determining the strategy from the point of view of execution, as national policy determines its aims. But what is behind military geography? Behind all geography, evidently, is geology, and hence there must be a military geology.

Returning now to our starting point, tactics, we find the same geographic influence there. Behind this still is geology, affecting every detail of a soldier's life, from the siting of his fortifications to the location and depth of his latrines.

This fundamental and little considered science is the subject of this book.

The writer, professor of physiography in Columbia University, has long been interested in the military aspects of his science. Shortly after the United States entered the war, he published his first book on the subject, *Topography and Strategy in the War*, interpreting the previous operations in terms of land-forms, and preparing his readers to grasp the topographic reasons for those to come, and their significance. This book is the logical successor of the earlier one. It is not a history; it is rather a treatise on geology, avoiding technicalities, but tracing the geology down through geography, and deducing the military conclusions; then testing and elaborating these conclusions by a short narrative of the operations of the recent war, with frequent excursions into those of Napoleon and even Attila and the Romans.

For this undertaking the writer is well qualified. He was commissioned major in the National Army in January, 1918, assigned to military intelligence duty, and sent to France in February. On this duty he continued until March, 1919, visiting all parts of the theatre of operations, and after the armistice joining General Bliss in Paris.

For the purposes of the book, it was necessary to make a territorial, rather than a logical or chronological, classification of the operations. At the same time it was necessary to avoid treating them in territorial water-tight compartments, losing their connection and hence their significance. The difficulties are obvious, but the results, while they would be unsatisfactory in a history, are highly satisfactory here. Each "battle-field", or natural theatre of operations, is described, and then the campaigns in that region explained briefly, but with judgment. Enough of the general military situation is given in each case, not to satisfy one looking for a narrative history, but to refresh the memory of one having a little general knowledge of the course of the war.

American operations are described in their proper places, with no greater emphasis than is given to the others. Their character and im-

portance stand out clearly enough without that. This same uniformity of treatment is noticeable throughout. Perhaps not the least of the merits of the book is that it gives a picture on a uniform scale—as it must of necessity do if the illustrations are to be of any use for their technical purpose—bringing the less known operations, as those in Italy and the Balkans, into relation with the more familiar Argonne and the over-emphasized “Flanders fields”.

OLIVER L. SPAULDING, JR.

*Allied Shipping Control: an Experiment in International Administration.* By J. A. SALTER, C.B., Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur. [*Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series*, JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., General Editor. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. xxiii, 372. 10s. 6d.)

It is well to note that Mr. Salter's purpose in his interesting and well-written book on *Allied Shipping Control* was not to give a detailed description of the national methods and organizations for shipping control which prevailed in each of the allied countries during the war, but to describe the system of control prevailing in Great Britain in a preliminary way, and then to present full information concerning inter-allied shipping control. The author expressly states that “the main object of this work is to describe the work of the Allied Maritime Transport Council (the A. M. T. C.) and its permanent organization, the Allied Maritime Transport Executive, as an experiment in international administration”.

Part I. contains a brief account of the importance of shipping during the war, of the problems that arose, and of the plans adopted for their solution. Parts II. and IV. contain a rather full account of British shipping control. The methods described include the power of requisition, the prohibition and restriction of imports, the control of vessel chartering, the control of the employment of unrequisioned vessels by license, the acquisition and distribution of the main articles of food and raw materials of the country, the allocation of shipping, and selection between imports, the blockade, the policy of Great Britain with respect to neutral shipping, and the methods adopted to combat the submarine menace.

Part IV. comprises the principal historical record of the book, for it is here that the allied or international control of shipping during the war is discussed. The author not only draws upon the valuable official documents and statistical information reproduced in the appendix (part VI.), but shows the first-hand knowledge of war events acquired from his positions as Director of Ship Requisition, Secretary to the Allied Maritime Transport Council, and Chairman of the Allied Maritime Transport Executive. After tracing briefly the unorganized efforts of Great Britain to assist her allies in the matter of tonnage during the early years of the



war, the tonnage agreement of December 3, 1916, of France and England, the unsuccessful efforts embodied in the Inter-allied Shipping Committee of January, 1917, the Shipping Agreement of November 3, 1917, between France, Italy, and England, and the general understanding of November, 1917, between these countries and the United States, he proceeds to describe the Paris Conference which was called later in that month. At this conference a series of general principles of co-operation were adopted and a permanent organization was effected. This consisted of the Allied Maritime Transport Council and its Executive. Chapter IV. contains a full account of the first meeting of the council, and chapter V. of its second meeting. Chapters VI. and VII. describe the internal organization of the council and its executive, the various "programme committees" which were organized for the international control of essential commodities, and the work of the Executive from May to July, 1918. The next two chapters trace the activities of the council and executive to the signing of the armistice, and chapters X. and XI. describe their activities from the armistice to the final ending of their shipping control in April, 1919. The final chapter of part IV. contains the author's impression of the results achieved in the effort to bring about inter-allied shipping control.

In part V. Mr. Salter emphasizes the importance of the war-time experience of the allied countries in international shipping control as the basis for permanent international co-operation in the future. He states the conclusions which he has drawn "for the future of international administration". However opinions may vary as to future international control, Mr. Salter's historical account of how shipping was jointly controlled by the Allies during the later years of the war constitutes an interesting and authoritative contribution.

GROVER G. HUEBNER.

*A History of the Peace Conference.* Edited by H. W. V. TEMPERLEY. [Published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs.] Volumes IV. and V. *Economic Reconstruction and Protection of Minorities.* (London: Henry Frowde, and Hodder and Stoughton. 1921. Pp. xxvi, 528; xv, 483. \$9.50.)

THE purpose and the general scheme of this extensive and important work have been treated in a previous review. The new volumes deal with the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian settlements in much the same fashion as the first three covered the German settlement. They attempt far more than the mere story of the Peace Conference itself and the making of the treaties at Paris: of the thousand-odd pages included in these volumes, barely an eighth is devoted to a narrative of proceedings in the Conference; rather more than a quarter of the material deals with the historical background of the questions that were settled and about the same amount with a description and analysis of the decisions taken and

their effects; the remainder is composed of the texts of the treaties and less formal agreements, with ancillary documents.

Volume IV. begins with a narrative of the collapse, military and political, of Bulgaria and the Hapsburg Empire (inaptly described in the chapter-heading as the "Central Powers"), with an analysis of the political structure of the old Dual Monarchy and the factors that led to its disintegration. This, with a short section on the armistices, comprises a fourth of the volume. The dramatic character of events permits a vividness of treatment which is amply appreciated by the author and these pages furnish a brilliant summary of the fall of the Hapsburgs. It is, perhaps, fair to ask whether the narrative might not have been abbreviated in order to secure more detailed treatment of the problems of the liberated nationalities. The latter receive careful attention, after a brief chapter on the disarmament of the enemy and the military terms of the treaties of St. Germain, the Trianon, and Neuilly. The hundred pages devoted to the antecedents and the formation of the new Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, and Rumanian states are deserving of high praise. The problem, as it appeared to those in authority at Paris, has been clearly presented, with a full summary of nationalistic aspirations and movements, and the reader has laid before him the various considerations, ethnic, economic, and political, which determined the frontiers. It is the simplest and most comprehensive survey of these complex issues that has yet appeared in print. The reviewer has but two regrets, namely that in a volume devoted to the attempt to construct new states on the ruins of the old empire more space could not be found for the particular problems of the nationalities, and that it has seemed necessary to reserve the Polish problem for volume VI. The chapter on the Treaty of London and the extent of its application is chiefly concerned with the new frontiers of Italy, with a brief section on Albania. It is written by Mr. Temperley himself and, after covering in restrained fashion the various phases of the Fiume dispute, concludes with the settlement at Rapallo. There follows a chapter on the plebiscites which, with the exception of that at Klagenfurt, were never held, and which resulted in the division of Teschen and Austria's acquisition of German West Hungary. Chapter VII. of the volume is devoted to a summary narrative (thirty-nine pages) on the making of the treaties, with general considerations of the principles underlying them, and is succeeded by fifty pages containing admirably compressed material on the new Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary, by Childs, Coolidge, and Temperley. The volume concludes with appendixes of armistice texts, Rumanian agreements, and the "Little Entente" treaty, which we should naturally have expected to find reserved for inclusion with similar material at the end of volume V.

That volume is not, as one might gather from its subtitle, mainly given over to economic reconstruction and minorities. Of the 483 pages, only 111 deal with the reparation and financial clauses of the three treaties

and a discussion of commercial policy towards the defeated powers, which is followed by a short chapter on the protection of minorities. The major portion of the volume is composed of the texts of the treaties of St. Germain, the Trianon, and Neuilly, and of documents of various kinds, such as memoranda and agreements concerning reparation and the protection of minorities, the Treaty of London, the Manifesto of Corfu, the Pact of Rome, the different memoranda on Fiume, and the Treaty of Rapallo. The volume concludes with a serviceable topical index to the Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian treaties which, with slight effort, might have been made even more valuable. The topic "Plebiscites", for example, is not listed except as a sub-topic under "Austria", and while Fiume is separately listed, Klagenfurt is not, and the topic "Minorities" is incompletely indexed.

The combined topical and chronological arrangement which the character of the material has forced upon the editor is, however, skillfully drafted and the student will in general experience little difficulty in discovering the facts for which he is searching. As in the earlier volumes those facts are presented objectively and in such abundance that the reader may form his own judgments. Mr. Temperley's hope that he might "steer a course equally remote from official apologetics and unofficial jeremiads" seems to the reviewer to have been crowned with a large measure of success. In view of the difficulty of arrangement, the amount of recapitulation is surprisingly small. The various authors have almost without exception achieved clarity of presentation. It is, perhaps, regrettable that more space could not be found for the details of the processes by which the decisions were reached at Paris. But this would not have been possible without drawing extensively upon the secret minutes of the Councils of Ten and Four and upon the *procès-verbaux* of the commissions; the editor has been careful not to infringe upon diplomatic convention by the use of material the publication of which has not been officially authorized. It was, moreover, of the first importance to save space for collecting the most important documents in their complete text. Students will be especially grateful for the statistical tables compiled by Mr. Wallis, although they will regret that the first table, on page 150 of volume V., is so incomplete as to mislead the casual reader and to blur the statistical comparison between the new Austria and the new Hungary.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*The New World: Problems in Political Geography.* By ISAIAH BOWMAN, Ph.D., Director of the American Geographical Society of New York. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company. 1921. Pp. vii, 632. \$6.00.)

THIS book is not, as its title might seem to imply, a description of the twin continents named in honor of the Florentine impostor, nor is it a

prospectus of a new Eden of which we stand at the portals. It is a geographer's survey of political conditions and problems all over the globe, as they present themselves on the morrow of the Great War: a study of a world in which so many of the old boundaries and landmarks have disappeared and so many new formations and situations have arisen that we can fairly speak of it as "the new world". To Americans it is also new in another sense: that it is swarming with problems, to which most of us have hitherto remained happily oblivious, but on which we as individuals are now forced to know something, and we as a nation may conceivably be forced to take sides. Doubtless there are few more pressing tasks before the American democracy than the development of an enlightened public opinion about the complex questions of this new society of peoples, to which, for better or for worse, we are now inextricably bound.

Dr. Bowman is unusually well equipped for the task he has undertaken, not only through his position as director of the American Geographical Society and editor of the *Geographical Review*, but also through his activity during the war as head of the group of specialists charged with collecting for our government data on all the questions likely to be raised at the peace conference, and through his able and many-sided services at Paris as adviser to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Perhaps no other American who has not held at least cabinet rank in recent years, could write with equal knowledge of so many of the diplomatic transactions that have shaped the new world, or could display so wide a range of information and interest.

Its comprehensiveness is, indeed, one outstanding characteristic of this volume. After some preliminary general discussion, the reader is introduced to the chief political and economic problems of the British Empire; France and Belgium, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula; the prosperous north, the convulsed centre, and the stormy east of Europe; and so on with all the states and especially the danger-zones of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and South America. Scarcely any significant region, however small, has been overlooked. If one wishes to inform himself about such problems as the Saar or Fiume, Upper Silesia or Danzig, Macedonia or Smyrna, the Sykes-Picot agreement or the late Anglo-Persian treaty, the causes of unrest in India or Egypt, the present status of Tibet or Manchuria, mandates in Africa, or the dispute about Tacna-Arica, he will find here the fundamental facts in the case, presented by an expert. The surviving world-empires, with their staggering war debts, their problems of reconstruction, their inevitable rivalry for markets and for raw materials, and their teeming populations of increasingly restless and refractory black, brown, or yellow races; the new states from Finland to Azerbaijan, with their ethnographic and religious diversities, natural resources and economic development, constitutional and political questions; the older, unremoved causes of international friction and the new occasions for

possible conflict that the war has produced—all these things are discussed with remarkable clearness, objectivity, fairness, and sense of proportion.

Doubtless so much information could not have been compressed within one volume but for the very copious and judicious use of maps. The volume contains two hundred and eighty maps, diagrams, and illustrations. For each important area such essential factors as the relief, the density of population, the ethnic and religious distribution, the mineral resources and industrial centres, and the old, new, or proposed boundaries, are usually portrayed cartographically, and with admirable technique. Many of these maps cannot be duplicated in any other published works; and, taken as a whole, they form the most remarkable and valuable part of the book.

The student of contemporary politics should also be grateful for the very substantial bibliography at the end of the volume.

An author who has attempted to deal in so limited a space with so immensely wide and varied a field, inevitably exposes himself to some charges of errors and omissions. One may, perhaps, regret that an account of "the new world" should contain virtually nothing about the organization and activities of the League of Nations; or so meagre a treatment of a subject like the new German constitution, or of certain areas so important to us as Mexico or the Caribbean. Some erroneous statements have crept in. Under the Treaty of Rapallo, for instance, Zara is placed under Italian sovereignty, and not "made a free city" (as is stated on page 269). Historians may discover a fair number of inaccurate dates; and may be surprised at some rather chaotic passages—*e.g.*, on Russian expansion in eastern Asia, or the religious troubles in Bohemia (in which the Hussite upheaval and the Thirty Years' War are very much mixed up), or at such statements as that the Seljuks conquered Anatolia in the eighth century (page 431), or that "in 1863 . . . the Duke of Slesvig and Holstein came to the throne of Denmark as Christian IX. and attempted to unite both provinces to his kingdom" (page 175).

Nevertheless, these things weigh but slightly against the merits of a work which is undoubtedly the most useful introduction to world politics that has appeared in this country since the Armistice. One would like to see the volume in every American library.

R. H. LORD.

*Essays on the Latin Orient.* By WILLIAM MILLER, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. viii, 582. 40s.)

THIS volume contains (1) twenty articles on the history of Greece from the Roman conquest to the end of "the Venetian revival in Greece", 1718; (2) six "Miscellanea from the Near East". All of these essays have appeared in the last twenty-five years in the *Quarterly Review*, *English Historical Review*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Byzantinische*

*Zeitschrift*, *Westminster Review*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, and journals of the British and American archaeological societies of Rome.

The titles of these periodicals would suggest a difference in the quality of the essays. Some are well-written summaries, such as the first two, the Romans in Greece and Byzantine Greece, which together take up only fifty-five pages for thirteen and a half centuries; some are valuable contributions in the field in which Mr. Miller is particularly learned; some are more or less "timely" articles, notably the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, written after Allenby's capture of the city. Some essays are furnished with bibliographies; some are copiously annotated, others not.

Most of the essays on Frankish and Venetian Greece, as well as some of the others, were written before Mr. Miller published *The Latins in the Levant* and their conclusions were incorporated in that volume. Frequently passages were reprinted verbatim from the essays, as might be expected; but the plan of the book necessitated rearrangement and frequently condensation or elaboration; *e.g.*, p. 57 of the present volume is made up of material which is printed partly in the preface and partly on p. 1 of *The Latins*; p. 60 contains sentences from pp. 3, 4, and 6 of the earlier book; pp. 118-124 have passages from pp. 221-245 of *The Latins*; pp. 144-147 of this book from pp. 400-406 of the other; etc. In the preface the author states that "all the articles have been revised and brought up to date by the light of recent research". Apparently there have been lapses. Although he has much to say about the "Chronicle of Morea", he does not cite, and apparently has not used, Longnon's excellent edition published in 1911 or Adamantion's "definitive study" published in 1906.

A review of the more important of these essays would be a work of supererogation, as *The Latins in the Levant* was published fourteen years ago and its worth has been recognized. This volume contains some documents, some lists of rulers, and considerable material not found in the former work. It is a question, however, whether in these days of expensive book-making it was worth while to reprint so much that was already accessible. In the different essays, also, there are frequent repetitions which were advisable when they appeared separately, but might well have been omitted in the book.

The "Miscellanea" include convenient summaries of the history of Valona, of the Medieval Serbian Empire, and of Bosnia before the Turkish Conquest; an interesting paper on Balkan exiles in Rome; and articles of slighter value on the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and Anna Comnena. In the former, old errors are repeated: *e.g.*, p. 528, that the Knights of St. John originally took their names from St. John the Merciful; over thirty years ago Delaville le Roulx and Herquet proved that the name was taken from John the Baptist. The old fable that the Assizes of Jerusalem were drawn up by Godfrey and kept in a chest in the Holy Sepulchre is again repeated. One other correction may be

noted: on pp. 301-302 the derivation of *maona*, the name for an association of Genoese business men, is stated as of uncertain origin and various derivations are noted, but not the one now accepted, *viz.*, from the Arabic *ma'ûnah*—mutual assistance—(Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker*, Munich, 1906, p. 289). This last correction suggests the statement that Mr. Miller is not very much interested in economic history.

There are fifteen illustrations, eight for Monemvasia, four for Boudonitza, and three for Karditza; but only one small and rather unsatisfactory map. In other respects the volume is an excellent piece of book-making. Yet the question remains, whether it will add to the author's deserved reputation.

D. C. MUNRO.

*Hinduism and Buddhism: an Historical Sketch.* By Sir CHARLES ELIOT, H. M. Ambassador at Tokio. In three volumes. (London: Edward Arnold and Company. 1921. Pp. civ, 345; iii, 322; iv, 513. Set £4 4s.)

SIR CHARLES ELIOT has had a long career as a diplomat and has graced several posts from Washington to Tokio. He has been also, if not a specialist, at least a writer on Finnish, Turkish, and related languages, and has had an opportunity to study at first hand the practical working of Buddhism in Tibet, Cambodia, China, and other haunts of later and modern Buddhism. With a foundation of Sanskrit to start with he has thus been admirably equipped to tell the long story of Buddhism as one who knows it both *ab initio* and from the inside. Naturally, however, in so vast a field he is more competent to relate what he has seen at one point than at another; he is more at home and more original when writing of Buddhism outside India than in describing Indian Buddhism, where, despite his early linguistic training, he feels himself dependent on the work of more recent explorers. His three volumes as a whole therefore are a peculiar mixture of borrowed and individual research. In great part they are valuable chiefly to the general reader who will not know how much of what he reads has been repeated or assimilated from previous books; at the same time they are valuable to the specialist, who will find in them useful additions to his store of knowledge in fields rather remote from his own narrower investigations. In sum, it is difficult to discover for which class of readers these volumes were especially intended, but both classes will gain from a perusal of the whole.

"Hinduism" to the specialist has rather a restricted meaning. It does not include the early Vedic religion nor its philosophic expression in the Upanishads. On the other hand, what it always includes is the later mixture of Aryan and un-Aryan religious ideas and their expression in the Puranas, religious works of the first centuries A. D. Ignoring this, the author of the present voluminous work, after a generous introduction, gives a second introduction by discussing the political history



of India and the Vedic religion, and its deities and sacrifices. In the next two books he recounts the well-known facts of Pali Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism, and so comes to his first titular subject, Hinduism, disposing of this in less than two hundred pages of analysis of religious philosophy of the Hindu type. Finally, having thus reached the third volume, he devotes nearly all of it to modern Buddhism outside India, but omits a detailed account of the most important of all forms of later Buddhism, that of Japan, because as ambassador at Tokio he regards it as indelicate to discuss the religious aspects of the people to whom he is accredited.

The author seems to realize that he has undertaken too great a task and apologizes in his opening sentences for choosing "a scene unsuited to any canvass which can be prepared at the present day"; his defense is that "wide surveys may sometimes be useful and are needed in the present state of Oriental studies". The reviewer is willing to admit this, but he would have liked to see the matter better distributed, in more even proportion, with less inclusion of outlying subjects, with a fuller account of one of the chief subjects (Hinduism), and with far less repetition, not to speak of inaccuracies. In the first two hundred-odd pages the same note appears three times, on p. xix, p. 20, and p. 132, stating that Vincent Smith has now put back the date of Buddha's death to 554 B. C. or 543 B. C.; the reader is left in doubt which date is correct as the notes do not agree. On p. 333, Elias is Helios and on p. 63 he is a thunder-god. Which is correct? The author habitually writes *karma* but spells the analogous *brahma* with a final n, which is usual but illogical, as both words are of the same class. In Sir Charles's opinion the idea of a god of limitless light is not Hindu but Persian and a god who saves man must have come from over the border. When it is considered that Upanishads declare the godhead to be the glorious sun "whose light all shines after" and that even Pali Buddhism recognized Buddha as a savior-god the iteration of this doubt as to gods of light being Hindu is unfortunate. But the reviewer has many good things to say about this very laudable history and must hasten to mention them, stopping only to object to the author's annoying practice of saying "it has been suggested" without any indication of who has made the suggestion or where it is to be found. Some such statement on the other hand would have been welcomed in any form in some places, if only to show that the author was aware that a certain suggestion had been made. Thus in discussing Buddha's acquaintance with the Atman or soul-doctrine he makes no distinction between the individual soul and the All-Soul, apparently stating that Buddha directed a persistent polemic against the All-Soul doctrine of pantheism. If so, the author is wrong; for the polemic is always against the theory that there is such a thing as an individual soul in a man, and Buddha seems utterly to ignore or be ignorant of the All-Soul doctrine. More important is the opinion expressed on p. 204 of volume I,

that "Buddhism is as full as or fuller than Christianity of love, self-sacrifice, and thought for others". But love of one's kind to a Buddhist is explicitly declared to be only a step toward complete indifference. Nothing is said, in Buddha's teaching, of faith as an indispensable beginning of the religious life, though faith in Buddha and orthodoxy are demanded of every convert. To say that the Eightfold Path inculcates simply "that the way to be happy is to have a good heart and mind" is to ignore the fact that the "good mind" is only the orthodox mind.

With these few adverse criticisms the reviewer is glad to praise the excellence of the present work in its lucid arrangement and exposition of Pali Buddhism, which occupies about half of the first volume. The second volume gives an admirable account of the rise of the Great Vehicle and its gradual dissociation from the Little (really the "low") Vehicle or Church and except for its insistence on Persian influence is warmly to be commended. Very illuminating is the exposure of how the lower Hindu rites gradually overwhelmed in India what was left there of Buddha's real teaching; how Shaktism and Tantrism ousted all higher thought and substituted eroticism and mummeries of charms and spells for the clean and philosophic ethical system left by the founder. The learned author very properly distinguishes Shaktism (the worship of the female element in a gross materialistic form) from Tantrism, the magical manipulation of spells and diagrams; but he does not sufficiently recognize that later Tantrism has combined with Shaktism, till the former term virtually includes the latter.

In Sir Charles's presentation of "Hinduism" there is little that is novel. There was an excellent opportunity here to describe Hinduism as it is revealed in the Puranas and in daily practice, but the opportunity has been passed by in favor of a presentation of Hindu philosophical systems.

The whole of the third volume of this work is devoted to Buddhism outside India with the exception of fifty pages discussing the vexed question of "mutual influence". The hiatus caused by his omission of a detailed account of Japanese Buddhism is much to be regretted but the author's description of Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia is most comprehensive and enlightening, as is his penetrating discussion of the comparative influence of Indian and Mohammedan invasions of Java and the Malay Archipelago. Here too is to be found a thoroughly competent investigation of the religious influences operative just after the Christian era in Central Asia, in which Sir Charles has made use of the recent discoveries on the part of Stein and other explorers. This is perhaps the most valuable part of the whole work, though the account of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism is also admirable. In the author's opinion, Cambodia was settled from the vicinity of Bijapur in India. It accepted first the school of the Mahayana and then, after the twelfth century, became Hinayist. The influence of China may be suspected in the practice

of identifying the king with a god. It is only in these outlying regions that Buddhism has countenanced the *jus primae noctis* and again only outside India that the Buddhist monks have become military. In 1730, these monks massacred all the Annamites in Cambodia. Sir Charles confutes the notion that China has been a recluse-nation. She used to send out emissaries over all her known world and has always received foreign religions with indifference or eagerness, never refused them admission. Even her Buddhism accepted as part of its canon a work of Sankhya philosophy! There is a good index at the close of the third volume.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

*Histoire Générale de la Chine, et de ses Relations avec les Pays Étrangers.* Par HENRI CORDIER. In four volumes. (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1921. Pp. 574; 434; 428; 427. Set 100 fr.)

WE have long been in need of a good history of China. There have, of course, been almost numberless works in Chinese, varying in length from the many-volumed Twenty-four Histories (*Érh Shih Ssü Shih*) to much smaller compendiums, and treating either the whole of the history of the country or that of particular dynasties or periods. No other nation is, indeed, so rich in printed historical material covering so long a span of time. All of the important works, however, were produced before China had come into intimate contact with the Occident, and we greatly need a history written by someone, either Chinese or foreign, who will make use of the chief Chinese sources and who will at the same time have the benefit of the point of view of modern historical scholarship in Europe and America and of the perspective that comes with an acquaintance with the history and institutions of the rest of the world and will avail himself of the results of the investigations of European as well as Chinese scholars. No work in Chinese as yet answers this need, and there is a similar dearth in European languages. We have, of course, Mailla's great *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, but most of the volumes of that *magnum opus* followed closely a well-known Chinese work, the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu*, and it has, moreover, long since been out of print. We have in English such works as those by Boulger, Macgowan, Williams, Li Ung Bing, and Pott, and in German such a book as that of Hermann, but these are either too brief or confine themselves to retelling the story as it has been narrated by Chinese scholars.

The time has come, too, when it ought to be possible to write a good history of China. There are accessible the standard Chinese works and much other material in that language, and there has been as well excellent writing on specific periods and problems by Occidental scholars. While the research that it is to be ardently hoped will be made in the next few decades in known Chinese sources and in unexplored archaeological sites will probably necessitate the rewriting of any results that are published

now, it is entirely possible to prepare a narrative that would summarize for us, in some detail and with some degree of accuracy, the story of China.

There are few men better fitted for this task than M. Cordier. No other scholar knows better the material available in European languages, and he has written extensively and well, both books and articles. His editorship of *T'oung Pao* has for a generation kept him in touch with what is being done in a scholarly way on China. Such a book as the one before us might, then, be the worthy climax of a long and noteworthy career. In a certain sense the reader is not disappointed. The work gives us, as does no other in any language, a history of China which combines the materials derived from the older Chinese sources and from the work of European savants. One finds frequent references to the publications of such well-known scholars as Chavannes, Pelliot, and Hirth. The volumes, too, are not badly proportioned, and do not, as do so many of the other histories of China in European languages, hurry over the centuries before the coming of the Westerner as though these were merely introductory, and devote half their space to the events of the last hundred years. Two volumes are taken to bring the story down to the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) and one other to 1820. Only one volume is given to the last century. There is, too, some attention paid to other phases of history than the strictly political events that so engrossed the attention of earlier Occidental writers.

In spite of all these excellent qualities, however, one lays down the work with a certain feeling of disappointment. One feels as though it were possible, even now, to do a better piece of work than has been done, and that the author ought to have done it. In the first place, there is little, if any, direct use of Chinese sources. Mailla is referred to again and again, and the larger proportion of the material for the first two volumes is apparently taken from him. That means in substance that these chapters are based mainly on one Chinese authority, and that that has been consulted only in an old and not entirely reliable translation. Other material is, of course, used, such as Chavannes's great edition of *Ssü Ma Ch'ien*, so unfortunately left incomplete by the death of the author; but if there has been first-hand use of Chinese sources it does not appear in the foot-notes. It is, of course, possible to do an excellent piece of work on the basis of what is available in European languages, but one is not satisfied with results which are obtained without at least some examination of the wealth of books in the original language. In the next place, the work is unevenly done. Some phases of the history of China, M. Cordier has previously examined very carefully and written upon authoritatively and fully. These are almost entirely connected with the contacts of European peoples with China from Marco Polo on. The best chapters in the four volumes are largely a repetition or condensation of earlier books and articles, such as the author's edition of Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither* and *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, and his *Histoire*

*des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales*. There can be no objection, of course, to using material which the author has previously worked over, but the periods covered by the other portions of the work have so obviously been treated so much less thoroughly that the contrast is more striking than it ought to be. In the third place, the author still clings too closely to politics as the exclusive interest of history. This cannot be entirely because the materials for the other phases of Chinese history are not readily accessible, for many of these are now to be found in European languages. As an approach to a connected narrative of the development of Chinese civilization, the work is a vast improvement over its predecessors, but history is apparently still conceived of as past politics, and other phases of life as relatively less important to the historian and somewhat apart from his main task. One looks in vain for even a reasonably adequate treatment of the development of literature, philosophy, religion, economic life, social structure, and even of political institutions. The ideal history of China must appreciate the intimate interrelation of all of these, something which it is even now, with our imperfect study of the sources, possible to show more fully than M. Cordier has done.

These criticisms must not be allowed to obscure the fact, however, that as a longer history these four volumes are superior to anything that we now have, and are a real contribution both to the student and the general reader. We will look forward eagerly to the time when some scholar, either a European, an American, or a Japanese, who can use both the Chinese and European languages, or some Chinese who has been trained in modern historical methods and knows what has been done in the Occident on things Chinese, will write us a really satisfactory history. In the meantime M. Cordier's book will largely supersede its predecessors and will prove of substantial value.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Le Vrai Christophe Colomb et la Légende*. Par HENRY VIGNAUD.  
(Paris: Auguste Picard. 1921. Pp. 230. 6 fr.)

SINCE about the middle of the sixteenth century the biographers and historians of Christopher Columbus, in treating of his first voyage of discovery, have represented him as impelled by the desire to find a new way to India or the Orient. About twenty years ago, Henry Vignaud, together with La Rosa, raised the question whether this view of Columbus was historically correct. In 1905 Vignaud published his *Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb avant ses Découvertes* (1 vol. octavo), and in 1911, his *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb: comment il aurait conçu et formé son Projet, sa Présentation à différentes Cours, son Acceptation finale, sa Mise à Exécution, son Véritable Caractère* (2 vols. octavo).

These publications were not widely read, and left their readers generally unconvinced. So far as this result was due to bulky form and elaborate exposition, it is counteracted by the present compendium, which, if one may judge from its preface, was completed in 1916. It will doubtless draw attention to the larger volumes and win new readers for them, but that it will carry more conviction is hardly to be expected. It contains in condensed form the defects of the *Études* and the *Histoire*, and so constantly refers to these works that it can hardly be read or reviewed without their being included in the process. Be it then recognized that they constitute, in spite of defects, a most useful compilation of sources and references. They show that the motive of Columbus on his first voyage was largely cupidity and ambition and that religious zeal or scientific interest made but a small, if any, part of it. They have shaken or shattered some of the arguments for the traditional belief in the search for a new route to the East; and in a few minds, have totally destroyed it. But this effect, even supposing it to be general, only clears the stage for the author to prove what is the truth. So far from his doing this, he seems to show that neither he nor any one else is equal to the task.

It may be doubted whether the *True Columbus* will justify itself even as a convenience. One may find it easier to read the *Histoire* or selections of it, than the compendium together with a good part of the *Histoire*, jumping back and forth from one to the other.

The reason of the general rejection or non-acceptance of the author's thesis is not to be found in the proportions or literary features of his earlier publications, nor in the mental attitude of their readers, but in traits of the author's mind which appear in his writings as inconsistencies, misinterpretations, and fallacies.

In his *True Columbus* he begins by stating his position or thesis, the gist of which may be expressed as follows:— The discovery of America was not made by trying to reach the East Indies by a westward route, but was the logical, inevitable, anticipated, consequence of an expedition organized expressly to find the particular land which afterwards received the name of America (p. 2). What land does he refer to, which of the lands to which the name of America has been successively applied, from a part of South America to the whole Western Hemisphere? Here a map on which the territory in question should stand out seems necessary to clear and satisfactory apprehension, but there is none. It is a serious defect of these works that none of them is provided with a map. As one follows the author through the *True Columbus* one becomes more and more confused as to what he is trying to prove. Now he says that the object was to discover new "lands or islands". He does not say where any of them were, or orient them with respect to America, but insists that Columbus had located them or believed that he had, and that none of them was in Asia or in Asiatic waters.

He asserts that Columbus agreed with Pinzon to include among his discoveries "Pinzon's island of Cypangu" (p. 93), which for the present



he does not locate outside of Pinzon's mind. A few lines further on he recognizes an island of Cypangu as in Asia, but not as Pinzon's, and denies that Columbus had any thought of going to it. He says that all that Columbus was aiming at was the island of Antilia, which he believed to be "not at too great a distance from the Canaries and the Azores" (pp. 94, 95). Next, he represents the objective as the double one of Pinzon's Cypangu and Antilia (pp. 100, 101), and depicts Antilia as the Antilles, or the present archipelago of the West Indies (p. 123). Hereupon he tells us that all this time Columbus was apparently not thinking of Pinzon's Cypangu (p. 132), that Antilia was Haiti, and that Haiti was what Pinzon thought of as Cypangu (p. 134).

In the *Histoire* of Christopher Columbus by his son Ferdinand is a somewhat obscure passage which may be freely translated as follows:

*I say that as one thing depends on another and the one brings the other to mind*, being in Portugal, he began to consider whether, as the Portuguese were making their way so far southward, one might likewise make one's way westward, and reasonably expect to find land on that route.

Here Ferdinand implies that his father was reasoning by analogy. Omitting this (the italics), our author quotes the passage as referring only to extra-Asiatic territories and so corroborating his thesis, that Columbus was looking only to what is now the Atlantic Ocean for his discoveries (p. 54; *Histoire*, I. 42 n.). What is the analogy between proceeding from one discovery to another along the coast of Africa and looking for new lands out in an unexplored ocean? Considering that Columbus was reasoning by analogy, that his thoughts and words have come to us, not directly from him, but through several persons and at least two languages, is it not probable or possible that he was thinking of doing along another continent what the Portuguese were doing along the African, and if so, why was not Asia, the Asia of his Ptolemy, that other continent? According to the author, Columbus possessed a copy of the Ptolemy Geography of 1475 (*Histoire*, I. 331). This work represents eastern Asia as extending indefinitely or an unknown distance toward the south.

Our author says that Columbus expressly identified the present island of Haiti with the Cypangu of Pinzon, and for authority refers to two documents, the "Majorat" or Entail of Columbus's estates, February 22, 1498, and a marginal note in a copy of Pliny, which he attributes to Columbus (pp. 133, 134). In the Entail the only reference to this island is the following sentence: "And it pleased our Lord Almighty that . . . I should discover . . . many islands, among which is Española, which the natives call 'Feiti' and which the Monicondos [call] 'Zipango' (*Raccolta di Docum.*, part I., vol. I., p. 304). In other versions of this text the word *Monicondo* reads *Monicongo*, which seems to mean a little man of little sense, a monkey. Did Columbus consider himself a Moni-



condo, whatever that may be? Was this island called Zipango by any intelligent person, and how did calling it Zipango identify it with anything?

The marginal note reads "... the island of feiti or ofir, or cipango, to which I have given the name Spagnola" (*Raccolta*, pt. I., vol. III., tav. CI.). It does not identify the Cypangu of Pinzon with the island of Haiti. But admitting that it does, it remains for the author to prove that this mental process, apparently peculiar to Monicondos, took place in the mind of Columbus. The marginal notes (*Postilles*), said to be in the handwriting of Columbus, do not receive the attention which they seem to deserve. In the Alphabetical Table of Contents (*Histoire*, II. 649), the reader is referred to the subject-title *Postille*, but we find no such title. What is said on this subject is scattered and hard to find.

As material for his work, there is nothing that combines authenticity with information in as high a degree as the Letters Patent of April 30, 1492, about three months before the sailing of the first expedition. In this paper the Spanish sovereigns jointly assert: "considering that you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our order to discover and appropriate [*descobrir é ganar*] ... certain islands [*islas*] and continental territory [*terra firme*] in the said Ocean-sea [*mar Oceano*]", etc. Commenting on this and other similar expressions, the author says, "les souverains n'entendaient récompenser que les découvertes relatives à des îles ou terres nouvelles. . . ." He renders "*terra firme*" as "lands", and seems to regard it as synonymous with "*islas*". Obviously it is used in contradistinction from it, with the meaning already indicated, of continental territory, or mainland. It may refer to some other continent than that of Asia, but why should it not refer also to Asia? Why must "islands" and "continental territory" mean "non-Asiatic islands" and "non-Asiatic continental territory"?

The *Histoire* has no index and this deficiency is not supplied by the alphabetical table of contents. It has a list of eight errata to which about three times that many might be added. Among the errata in the *True Columbus* are the following: "58" (p. 38 n.) and "59" (pp. 46 n. and 59 n.) should read "sq"; "*Étude*" (p. 186 n.) should read *Histoire*; "1492" (p. 112 n.) should read "1492, vol. I."; "p. 506" (p. 187 n.) should read "vol. II., p. 586." On page 110, 6th line, the words "plus tard" should apparently be transposed with the words "comme Colomb l'assura".

JOHN BIGELOW.

*The Spanish Borderlands: a Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest.* By HERBERT E. BOLTON. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xiv, 320.)

THE real theme of this pleasantly and popularly written book is the part played by Spain in the opening up, to the ken of civilized man, of

lands now a part of the United States. The Spanish borderlands are defined in the short preface as "the northern outposts of New Spain, maintained chiefly to hold the country against foreign intruders and against the inroads of savage tribes". "Far from the centres of Spanish colonial civilization in the West Indies, Central America, Mexico, and Peru", these lands had, nevertheless, throughout almost all the era of discovery and all the colonial era, an importance which arose from the desires of adventurers as well as from the reasons above stated.

Professor Bolton has told this story well and interestingly, and his narrative is full of action as befits the history of Spanish exploration and colonization in what is now territory of our own country. Throughout, he makes abundant use of the old chronicles and accounts, but to this he has added his own vast knowledge of the territory, gained both by intensive study and in part by personal visitation. His narrative is enriched by many sidelights taken from old unpublished manuscripts and from the documents published by himself.

In more popular vein than in the Bolton and Marshall *Colonization of North America*, the volume shows the abiding influence of Spain north of the Rio Grande. Indeed, the Spanish influence in these borderlands is still found, as the author points out, in the many geographical names still in use, the persistence of the Spanish tongue, Spanish customs (social, religious, economic, and legal), and the Spanish type of architecture.

The narrative is divided into two sections: the first of four chapters, treating of the explorers, and the second of six chapters, treating of the colonies. The first section gives in rapid survey the stories of Ponce de León, Ayllón, and Narváez; Cabeza de Vaca; Hernando de Soto; and Coronado, Cabrillo, and Vizcaíno. The second has chapters devoted to Florida, New Mexico, the Jesuits on the Pacific slope, Texas, Louisiana, and California. In these chapters, the author has shown the working of European policy in the wilderness of the New World, and he furnishes, although briefly, the transition to the later period after Spain's connection with these lands had ceased.

Professor Bolton has kept before him the larger relations of Spanish discovery and colonization. For instance, he shows well the early connection between the Philippines and America, and he has conceived of Spanish colonization as a whole instead of as a number of detached and unrelated bits. The virtues and the vices of the Spaniards in the New World are brought out frequently, as well as their elements of strength and weakness in the political arena.

The text is followed by a bibliographical note of somewhat over six pages, in which are described some of the original and secondary sources, both narratives and collections of documents. This will be serviceable to the general reader, for whom the series of which this volume forms a part is primarily intended. The classified arrangement of this list will be especially welcomed. The index is more complete than is the case in

many works of this nature. Nine well-executed illustrations add to the work.

A few misprints occur here and there, and some misplaced accents, but in general the mechanical appearance of the volume is excellent. The word "savage" is misused (p. vii), and the word "monk" is wrongly used in several instances for friar (pp. 87, 89). But Professor Bolton is sure of his facts, and the book will be classed as authoritative. It brings into a single volume the salient features of Spanish history north of the Rio Grande, and because of that fact should be read widely. If the plans of the editors of the series of which it forms a part permit, it should be issued also as a separate volume. It is of interest to note that as first submitted to the general editor, the work was considered too long and reduction and revision became necessary. In this the author was aided by Miss Constance L. Skinner.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History.* By PETER G. MODE, A.M., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Church History in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Company. 1921. Pp. xxiv, 735. \$4.50.)

DR. MODE's publication is eventful for all students of American religious history. We have had good denominational histories but no adequate total survey. The chapter divisions, the bibliographies and documents of this new work must stimulate and found attempts at this total view—and when at last all these *disjecta membra* are co-ordinated and interpreted in relation to political, economic, and philosophical history we shall have a story of spiritual process and movement that will help to define and to determine American life.

As a bibliographical guide the book is of the greatest service. To each chapter dealing with a distinct topic (*e.g.*, the Great Awakening, Methodism, its Rise and Organization, the Christianizing of the Indians) is prefixed a list of books in chronological order and also a most welcome array of references to periodical articles. Heaven grant that our libraries may try to meet the test of such a bibliography! Doubtless many a student will suggest additions to it, but the reviewer will only allow himself to regret the absence of foreign works like Nippold's *Amerikanische Kirchengeschichte*, Wilhelm Müller's *Das Religiöse Leben in Amerika*, Houtin's *L'Américanisme*, and Eduard Meyer's *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen*. What a foreigner selects as interesting and characteristic is helpful to the native observer.

With regard to the illustrative source-material here printed the first word is one of gratitude for the variety and pertinency of documents, many of which are not easily accessible. Naturally the colonial period has been more thoroughly studied hitherto and the selections here are in

general very satisfactory, though here, as everywhere, certain preferences must be disappointed. It is, for example, a misfortune not to have the popular response to Whitefield's first tour in New England illustrated by the Nathan Cole manuscript printed in George Leon Walker's *Some Aspects of the Religious Life of New England*. In the nineteenth century the topics which loom large in the selections are the church extension westward, the agitations over slavery, the consequent disruption of denominations, and the federative tendencies following the Civil War, with the recent culmination of concerted practical effort through the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. All this is excellent but insufficient. The name of Theodore Parker occurs only in connection with the topic of antislavery. That illustrates the subordination of the whole matter of religious thought to the interests of practical activities. We cannot from these materials tell the rest of the story: the effect of the Great Awakening in breaking up doctrinal uniformity, the sudden invasion of scepticism in the French and Indian War, the undermining of old theology by the new views of human nature current in the political discussions of the Revolutionary period, the reaction against the French Revolution resulting in a revived orthodoxy with the exclusion of liberal elements, the ardor for religious social experiments in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Brook Farm, the Hopedale Community, the Rappists), Transcendentalism, Mercersburg Theology, Episcopalian Neo-Athanasianism, the New Thought Movement. These are also conspicuous matters and belong to one process, doubtless a complex one and operative only in the more alert and progressive elements in society. Possibly Dr. Mode's source-book will evolve through later elaboration and include more of this.

Great labor has gone into this book but not much into the index, which is scant and curious. Whoever has been grateful for the excellent index in Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* will lament the brevity and capriciousness of this one.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*Economic Development of the United States.* By ISAAC LIPPINCOTT, Ph.D., Professor of Economic Resources, Washington University. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1921. Pp. xvi, 691. \$3.50.)

AMERICAN economic history has been recognized only recently in the United States as a school subject, and teachers and text-book writers have been feeling their way in this field of instruction with some caution. About fifteen years ago Professor Bogart and Professor Coman issued volumes on the subject which were in most respects excellent, although they were pioneer works. The present season, when economic problems are forcing themselves more insistently upon the attention of the people than usual, two new text-books have appeared, by Professor Van Metre and by Professor Lippincott, which embody both later facts and later

experience with economic history as a branch of study. Of these Professor Lippincott's *Economic Development of the United States* diverges most from the older text-book style and make-up and represents rather the more original contribution to the interpretative arrangement of the known data of our economic life. It is not only a class-room book, but a work that should receive a welcome in the library of any intelligent and thoughtful citizen.

Much skill and judgment are demanded, even after others have blazed the trail, to apportion the space in a volume of less than seven hundred pages so justly to each of the multitudinous topics which properly fall within the purview of the economic historian that nothing will be slighted and nothing over-emphasized. The author has accomplished this remarkably well. A painstaking reader may discover the occasional omission of episodes that might have added to the completeness of the narrative, but these instances are neither numerous nor important enough to detract materially from the value of the book. They are probably due to conscious efforts at condensation.

Although Professor Lippincott's earlier researches in American economic history related mainly to its pioneer and romantic period, he has not permitted himself to be diverted into antiquarian by-ways. He devotes nearly four hundred pages to the modern era following the Civil War, and the final chapter deals with the latest and possibly most revolutionary epoch of our economic development, from 1914 to 1921.

The introductory paragraphs of several of the chapters, giving a summary of what is treated in fuller detail later, are often models of condensed and logical analysis. This fashion of throwing a search-light ray ahead over the territory to be traversed is useful and happily handled.

American economic history is a theme that lends itself easily to optimistic treatment. An author is forced by the nature of his materials, and by the spirit that pervades the literature which supplies his sources, to treat quantity-measurements and value-measurements as identical. Furthermore an optimistic attitude—a more or less uncritical acceptance of our past as providentially the best of pasts—is demanded by public opinion, especially in text-books. Nor is the school-room the proper place to question the wisdom of our forefathers. Consequently any book of this kind—designed to serve the purpose this book serves—inevitably impresses the peruser who is, let us say, overread in this field of history, as a trifle posed. And the question rises in his mind: Will the time ever come when the public will, not only permit, but insist, that the maturing generation study our history as a record of failures as well as of successes? Perhaps it should be left to the discretion of the teacher to point out to our future citizens and public men how the errors of the past throw light upon the problems of the present. This is something no text-book as yet presumes to do, nor probably could do and be successful as a text-book. Still, so long as this condition lasts, school economic history will have a trace of artificiality.

The present volume has the defects inseparable from a first edition—occasional misprints, especially of figures. Most of these typographical errors—and they are not numerous—any intelligent teacher is likely to detect and can easily rectify. There is a good index, and brief bibliographies, mostly of secondary sources, are appended to each chapter. The book does not contain a chart, map, or illustration. In this respect, and in general mechanical make-up, it suffers somewhat by comparison with the volume just issued on the same subject by Professor Van Metre. Though the text abounds in statistical data, tables are used but sparingly. The book is not padded with appendixes of undigested matter. The result of all this is that an unusual amount of text is compressed within convenient limits, and what the reader loses in graphic presentations he gains in another direction. If I were selecting a single volume to have constantly at hand for reference and for an occasional summary review of our economic past, this is one I should choose.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

*The Fathers of the Constitution: a Chronicle of the Establishment of the Union.* By MAX FARRAND. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xii, 246.)

*Jefferson and his Colleagues: a Chronicle of the Virginia Dynasty.* By ALLEN JOHNSON. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. ix, 343.)

THE two volumes of the *Chronicles of America* before me have the characteristics of the series. They are pleasant to handle, in every way beautiful in make-up, strikingly illustrated, equipped with usable bibliographies and indexes. They are intended for the reader who whether popular or learned desires a well-written and at the same time scholarly record of wide ranges of fact and movement. They come from hands experienced in historical investigation and writing. Each of the two authors is well known for his particular interest in the field covered by his present volume.

Professor Farrand attempts in 164 slight pages to describe the conditions and events out of which grew the Convention of 1787, to outline and interpret the discussions of that body, to carry the reader through the ratification of the work of the Convention by the states to the point of the inauguration of the government of George Washington. This writer wishes Professor Farrand had been given the fifty-two pages occupied by a reprinting of the Declaration of Independence (with two pages of Signers attached), the Articles of Confederation (with two more pages of names following), the Northwest Ordinance, the Constitution of the United States, with names of the famous thirty-nine from "George Washington, President and Deputy from Virginia", to "Abr Baldwin" of Georgia, and "Attest William Jackson Secretary".



The treatment is too slight to give occasion for elaborate presentation of novel views of the period or to afford opportunity for many innocent errors of fact—the especial delight of reviewers. The evidences of the lack of respect in which the new United States was held by European countries in 1783 are almost startling, and the description of “Trade and Industry” will be found informing.

The fruitage of the “compact theory” in the revolutionary state constitutions is convincingly suggested and the culmination of experimentation since 1754 in the Articles of Confederation is made plain. The present writer is not sure that he finds in this volume, however, as clear a statement of the whole political problem of the period, the problem of imperial organization, as he finds in the volume in the *American Nation* series, written by Professor McLaughlin. However, the emergence of a colonial problem, another phase of the problem of “imperial organization” as it presented itself to American statesmen, and the remarkably generous and far-seeing solution of the problem are lucidly and strongly set forth.

The Convention of 1787 itself Professor Farrand does not regard as an “assembly of demigods” but as “a fairly representative body, which was of a somewhat higher order than would be gathered together today” (p. 117). The division in the body was between large states and small states, “and public sentiment on the slave trade was not much more emphatic and positive than it is now on cruelty to animals” (p. 130). Although there is nothing definite in the Constitution conferring on federal courts the power to declare legislative enactments void, nevertheless “There is little doubt that the more important men in the Convention . . . believed that the judiciary would exercise this power” (p. 132). Regardless of their theories of government, “the framers” “did not go out of their own experience” (p. 141). They aimed to correct the well-known defects in the Articles of Confederation and succeeded in correcting practically every one of them. Professor Farrand does not place much emphasis on the “economic interpretation of the Constitution”. The propertied classes that framed and adopted the Constitution acted in the public interest as well as in self-protection.

Perhaps the most novel position taken by Professor Farrand is that taken at the very end, to wit: that Americans would have been able to make almost any form of government succeed, and that had the Federal Convention not met “there is good reason for believing that the Articles of Confederation, with some amendments, would have been made to work” (p. 164).

Professor Farrand, although not an idolater of the “Framers”, nevertheless has something of the advantage of Professor Johnson—in his more nearly complete sympathy with the Fathers of the Constitution than has Johnson with Jefferson and his Colleagues. These colleagues even appear in much better light in Farrand’s book than they do in Johnson’s. To Farrand Jefferson is the Virginia reformer and a farseeing national



statesman, and Madison is "the leading expert worker of the Convention in the business of framing the Constitution". To Johnson they are members of the "Virginia Dynasty", and the least successful members of that unhappy tribe.

Of course it is not Professor Johnson's fault that these two eminent Virginians were more brilliant in philosophical speculation and legislative effort than in administrative abilities, nor that they had to administer difficult affairs in a peculiarly trying epoch. Although Jefferson did have his scruples about constitutional proprieties, nevertheless the outstanding big fact is that his administration assumed the immense responsibility of signing and ratifying a treaty in which the United States purchased the Louisiana territory. From that day the United States was destined to take its place among powers of the first rank. Also the pursuit of the Floridas, though at times awkward, was under this same dynasty carried to a successful achievement.

So far as Jefferson's commercial warfare against England and France is concerned, Professor Johnson admits (p. 162) that had the commerce of the United States in 1807 "been as necessary to England and France as it was 'at the very peak' of the World War, Thomas Jefferson might have proved that peaceable coercion is an effective alternative to war" (p. 162). Madison, too, preferred "amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms" (p. 171).

Mr. Johnson, much better than most historians, emphasizes the real forces behind the actual declaration of war in 1812. The "War Hawks" who had fought Indians and traded in furs; who longed for Canada and thought they had a right to the Floridas; and who had the courage and confidence born of their love of adventure, rejoiced in the opportunity for war and had no intention of putting up with a President who would not work with them for national honor and territorial ambitions.

It is rather odd that "the least talented" of the Virginia Dynasty should appear in so much better light in this volume than do his brilliant predecessors. The times had changed; war's had ceased; Monroe, too, had matured. "He had learned much in the rude school of experience, and he now brought to his new duties discretion, sobriety, and poise. He was what the common people held him to be—a faithful public servant, deeply and sincerely republican, earnestly desirous to serve the country which he loved" (p. 265).

And yet John Quincy Adams figures as the hero of the administration. And Monroe in the new era, with its increasing demands for constructive internal policies, based on broader constitutional views, found himself "out of touch with the newer currents of national life" (p. 311). Indeed Virginia herself was falling behind. Her economic condition had become distressing. Her statesmen's broad policies of expansion from which the country as a whole benefited had drained the old South of

population and wealth. These statesmen themselves in their retirement shared the financial afflictions of their people.

But somewhat more, it seems, than the author of this really good volume conveys to the reader these Virginians are to be commended for their high idealism and their actual accomplishment of lasting benefits to this country. The epoch 1800-1824 was a fruitful period despite its tangled maze of experimental diplomacy—fruitful of great results for which in large measure America is indebted to “Jefferson and his Colleagues”.

D. R. ANDERSON.

*Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812.* Edited, with an Introduction, by WILLIAM WOOD. Volume I. [Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. XIII.] (Toronto: the Society. 1920. Pp. xv, 678, x.)

THE aim of the three volumes, of which this is the first, is to give in full original form the gist of the collection of important British documents relating to the Canadian part of the War of 1812. This collection the Champlain Society now believes to approach completeness for all probable practical purposes. Publication of this volume was delayed two years in order that the harvesting of documents into the Dominion Archives at Ottawa might attain such a degree of finality that further discoveries which would materially change existing evidence would “seem to be almost beyond reasonable expectation”. The editorial work in general and the format of the volume deserve high praise.

In place of an introduction to each document or to each group of documents, a judicious, well-written introduction covers the whole war. It is divided into twelve chapters of from two to thirty-seven pages in length, which occupy the first fifth of the volume and serve to integrate the documents which follow. It is not an easy task to assess and properly document events whose importance, like that of the campaign around Detroit in which the relations with the Indians were deeply involved, was vastly out of proportion to numbers engaged or losses of men and war materials, and in one instance, in a note bordering on disgust, the editor aptly describes the campaign along the Montreal frontier as “the most sprawling and sporadic part of a sprawling and sporadic war” (p. 50).

The documents in this volume relate almost exclusively to conditions and events prior to 1813, and, with the exception of eight, chiefly to the military operations in the West. Unquestionably the most valuable portion is that which deals with the correspondence of the British generals, Brock and Sheafe, with Sir George Prevost, the governor-general and commander-in-chief in Canada. Taken as a whole there is little that is both new and important to a full understanding of the part played by the Canadian forces in the first year of the war, but this fact should not obscure the large and permanent worth of an easily accessible publication

like this to students of history on both sides of the St. Lawrence. Among the significant papers here presented are those devoted to the suspicions of the Canadians regarding the sentiments and movements of the Americans along the frontier, particularly about Niagara; the organization of the militia in Upper Canada; the provincial statute of Lower Canada to facilitate the circulation of army bills; and certain personal observations by two Canadians of Hull and his men at the time of the surrender of Detroit, as revealed in letters and a journal.

An important group of papers shows how insistently the British traders and the Canadian government were cultivating the Indians in the United States, the chief being a confidential communication from Robert Dickson, "residing with the Indians near the Missouri" (1812), in which he quotes the speeches of three chiefs, one a Sioux, who confess that they "have for some time past been amused by the songs of bad Birds from the lower part of the River—they were not the songs of truth". The inclusion of the "historical romance" entitled "The War of the Gulls" (pp. 561-579), and the proclamation of the United States Brigadier-General Smyth to the men of New York, which Henry Adams characterized as unmilitary, surprising, and in the end burlesque, and which has long been quickly accessible in *Niles's Register*, is not easily justified in such a carefully edited and definitive collection as this. Very minor inclusions in the midst of many arid and petty details reveal an unexpected touch of chivalry: the offer of the commander at Ft. George to aid the badly wounded American Colonel van Rensselaer at Lewiston with anything "either useful or agreeable to him", and General van Rensselaer's announcement at Lewiston that he will "order a salute for the funeral of General Brock to be fired here, and at Ft. Niagara, this afternoon" [October 16, 1812] (pp. 625-626).

The chief "find" of the collection is presented at the close of the introduction. It is a "private and confidential" letter of the Duke of Wellington at Paris, in November, 1814, to Lord Bathurst after the disastrous defeat of Prevost at Plattsburg: "I see that the Publick are very impatient about the want of success in America, and I expect they will never be quiet until I shall go there . . . it is too late to think of going to America this year; and I believe I shall not be able to go to Quebec till April. If, however, in March next, you should think it expedient that I shall go there, I beg that you will understand that I have no objection whatever" (p. 131).

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

*A History of the United States.* By EDWARD CHANNING. Volume V. *The Period of Transition, 1815-1848.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. viii, 623. \$4.50.)

THE author of a "standard history" may call for sympathy as well as admiration. A balanced and a just account is expected by the general

reading public, with every influence and interest that has affected national development allotted its exact and proper space, with historic characters all assessed, and all historical materials assayed. It must wear the aspect of finality and yet must have the air of freshness; it must not leave out the old but must include the new. Every reader will find it useful, except perhaps those pages which touch—or neglect to touch—upon his own peculiar province, but since common sense and general knowledge will supply the tests, every reader will feel free to point out faults. The story has become so complex with the spread of scholarship that in latter years it has been thought appropriate for companies of specialists. It is an awful enterprise for one sole man, fit only for a bold and seasoned spirit and drawing the attention of the multitude. Parkman, Henry Adams, Rhodes, and others were content with periods; McMaster and Von Holst each made his contribution from a body of sources not before extensively examined; but Professor Channing essays the whole account, making use of all the special studies made by every one in every field.

The fifth volume of his *History of the United States*, covering the years 1815 to 1848, is sharply split in two. In the first half the author reveals it as a "period of transition" in the material concerns of the American people, their intellectual outlook, their home life, and their social habits; in the last he seeks to show the changes in the field of government. In devoting so much space to *Kulturgeschichte* the author diverges from Schouler, Burgess, and others who have written the history of these years exclusively as past politics. That Professor Channing realized the importance of economic interests had been shown before, notably in chapter XIII. of volume III. and chapter IV. of volume IV., but apparently this interest has grown more compelling.

The present volume itself represents a "period of transition" in history-writing. History has added units but not absorbed them; it has new particulars but not synthesis; so that we have chapters on the westward march, cities, labor, plantations and abolitionism, religion, education, literature, and many on politics. Very few people in any age are personally concerned with politics either as a trade or as a science; for the great majority it merely affords the means by which certain definite interests or ideals are safeguarded or forwarded. Will not the next standard historian of the period show more clearly why the American system was American, and why each economic and social interest reacted to it as it did, and how the wealth of nature developed optimism and material ambition for everybody which was reflected in our religion, literature, and education no less than in our zeal for territorial growth and our jealous independence? Professor Channing with great industry and sagacity has selected the materials and to a certain extent has arranged the picture; if there ever is a successor, will he not find points of focus?

Believing that the long intensity of war ending in 1815 had stirred the western world out of its routine, the author summarizes the achievement

of the following generation of Americans, in transportation. This introduces an excellent chapter on the transfer of population toward the West, or "Transappalachia", as he rather usefully christens it. He does not show the effect of this migration on the growth of cities or on rural life in the East, but here and in his chapter on the plantations makes clear what it meant to the seaboard South. His sympathy and fairness in dealing with the Southern "cavaliers" and Northern abolitionists shows how scholarship and time have softened the asperities of years gone by. On prison reform, the temperance movement, the care of the insane, the development of religious sects, etc., he shows remarkable familiarity with the special literatures of the subjects and a restraint never yielding to the temptations of the picturesque. In reviewing education he shows "how slight America's contribution had been to the practice and organization of teaching", and how deep her debt to Germany in the generations before the Civil War; but in his thirty pages on the more hackneyed field of literature he finds it difficult to make a contribution, though not for lack of enthusiasm. "In short", he concludes, "this half-century in the United States in poetry, in fiction, and in history stands apart—it is without an equal since the days of Shakespeare, Francis Bacon, and John Milton" (p. 305)—to which the conscientious reader must append "*mutatis mutandis*".

In this survey of American interests, generally so full and fair, there is nothing about architecture, the position of women, the public land question, the fur trade, or, most surprisingly, the winning of universal manhood suffrage. Also in his political narrative, compressed within three hundred pages, there are unexpected emphases; about ten times as much space is devoted to the work of General Scott as to that of Chief Justice Marshall; Eric Janson, who led a small band of Scandinavians to Henry County, Illinois, has as much attention as President John Tyler; the psychology of the frontier bankers is brilliantly presented, but the Locofocos have to share one short page with the Antimasons. As in volume III. he rescued President Adams from disgraceful defeat in 1800 and brought him out to something near to victory, he does a similar service for his son in 1828; there is a good word for Andrew Jackson as a spoilsman and for General Santa Anna. The estimates of character and service are, as a whole, judicious and precise, and there are few or no traces of sectional prejudice in the distribution of space or praise. Yet one might question some judgments like that on Biddle and his Bank of the United States. The last days of that institution under its Pennsylvania charter were, as Catterall admitted years ago, "unfortunate" and "disastrous", but there is no real evidence to convict the president of chicanery as is implied in this account.

The volume would be distinguished, if for no other reason, by the value of its notes which make critical reference to all sorts and kinds of monographic pamphlets, articles, and books as well as to many curious and comparatively unexploited sources. It will be a rare scholar to whom

a full third of these will not be unfamiliar. Private conversations with many specialists are particularly acknowledged in the sources, and many valuable suggestions. The style is clear, but never eloquent; the many individual instances, unimportant in themselves, used in developing points make for vividness but sometimes destroy perspective. The charts and maps are singularly well chosen, but the index is quite inadequate to a work of reference, neglecting as it does the names of many persons mentioned in the book.

The reader carries away the impression of a wise and careful scholar with whom no traditional judgment can pass without investigation and to whom nothing that is American is foreign. He has enlarged our field of vision, though he has not changed our point of view. If in each generation some single veteran scholar should take stock of what is going forward in the historical study of the United States, Professor Channing should be warmly thanked for his service to our own.

DIXON RYAN FOX.

*Captains of the Civil War: a Chronicle of the Blue and the Gray.*

By WILLIAM WOOD. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXI.]

(New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xiv, 424.)

COLONEL WOOD has written a very readable and interesting book. He has chosen to emphasize the picturesque to the necessary exclusion of more detailed discussion of important events. The emphasis on the extent and value of the work of the Federal navy is particularly interesting, though, in places, too detailed for such a study.

The first part of the book is devoted to a rather extended and, in places, detailed discussion of the opening events of the war and of the opposing combatants. Of the make-up of the armies Colonel Wood says that "... when the froth had been blown off the top, and the dregs drained out of the bottom, the solid mass between, who really were sound patriots, settled down to work". It was "the froth . . . and the dregs"—the "fustian heroes"—who "formed the mushroom secret societies that played their vile extravaganza right under the shadow of the real tragedy of war" and that caused the "patriots" many an anxious and uncertain hour. After this introduction the opening operations of the navy are discussed, including the taking of New Orleans. There are two interesting chapters on the "River Wars" of 1862 and 1863, in which Grant and Farragut are the heroes. A chapter on Lincoln: War Statesman, though well and sympathetically done, seems superfluous in view of the fact that the subject is well done elsewhere in this series. The important part of the material might well have been worked into the different chapters. The space could certainly be filled to advantage with a more extended narrative of military and naval events.

Except for a chapter on Lee and Jackson, 1862-1863, and one on Gettysburg, making together less than one-fourth of the book, the author follows



Grant and Farragut from place to place and, with few exceptions, only events in which they are the principal actors are given detailed or extended consideration. This method makes possible only cursory mention of the operations and leadership in the so-called Western theatre. The battle of Shiloh, though important as being the first pitched battle in this area, is, like the first Bull Run, given in too much detail. Bragg's Kentucky campaign and the Chickamauga campaign receive only passing mention. Johnston's masterly retreat to Atlanta in the face of Sherman's superior forces is sandwiched into the narrative of Grant's operations before Richmond in 1864 and its importance from the political, economic, and military standpoints is lost sight of. Hood's Tennessee Campaign of the winter of 1864 receives none of the discussion that this last desperate thrust deserves, considering its ultimate possibilities in case of success. As Colonel Wood has said of Rosecrans, Hood, "like many another man who succeeds halfway up, failed at the top".

This neglect of the Western area is characteristic of most military writers of the Civil War period. The Western armies, though comparable in quality of personnel, were not as well led as were the armies in Virginia and at no time, unless we except Joseph E. Johnston, did the Western armies have a leader who was loved, trusted, and respected as was Robert E. Lee. In fact the ascendancy of Lee and Virginia has, until recently, obscured these important operations conducted in the granary of the Confederacy. They took place in a much larger and more physically difficult area than Virginia and one not as well served with railroads. On the other hand, the many navigable rivers were a source of strength to both combatants and, in the case of Chattanooga in the fall of 1863, the accessibility of the Tennessee River prevented the Federal army from being starved out or forced to retreat northwards.

In this altogether readable and interesting book we note several errors of statement, but limitations of space forbid detailed correction of all. For examples: it is exaggeration to speak of Twiggs's surrender as "the greatest of all surrenders" (p. 8) when the statement is made without qualification; Lee was not "Scott's Chief of Staff in Mexico", but only an engineer officer on his staff (p. 9); several exceptions must be made to the statement that West Point furnished "every successful high commander", as, for example, John B. Gordon, N. B. Forrest, F. C. Barlow, David B. Birney (p. 78); McClernand was not dismissed, but simply relieved of his command and returned to his home in Illinois for further mischief (p. 136); General Stephen D. Lee, not General Pemberton, commanded at Chickasaw Bluffs and deserved and obtained the credit for Sherman's repulse (p. 164); Johnston was in Tennessee and Mississippi, in the fall of 1862, ostensibly directing the operations of Bragg and Pemberton, but, in fact, exercising no real command (p. 219); Jackson's failures in the Seven Days' battles are not sufficiently emphasized (p. 223); it is rather an exaggeration to characterize Crocker and the politicians Logan and Blair as "three of the best generals who ever came



from civil life"—the evidence is wanting (p. 261); Rosecrans did not order "an immediate general retreat" at Chickamauga, but sent Thomas orders of a more or less discretionary nature (p. 280); Bragg did not mass "every available gun and man" to meet Sherman's attack against his right on Missionary Ridge, in fact his right was at no time in danger and handled Sherman without reinforcements. Three brigades were sent from the right to assist the hard-pressed left and centre. There was a rout at the centre only, and the retreat was skillfully covered by the "fighting" right led by Hardee and Cleburne. It is not correct to say that "thousands of prisoners were taken; and most of the others were scattered in flight". The break at the centre took with it the left of the line, but the right stood fast. Bragg's "missing" for Lookout Mountain and the assault on Missionary Ridge numbered approximately 4100, as given by Livermore (p. 285). Too much emphasis is placed on the effect of Banks's ill-advised campaign in Louisiana on Sherman's proposed operations against Mobile. Cold Harbor could hardly be called "the last pitched battle on Virginia soil", as the battle of the Crater followed in July, and Early and Sheridan in the Valley of Virginia fought two sizeable battles—at Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill—in the fall of 1864 (p. 355); Beauregard's relation to Hood was one of supervision and consultation, not of actual "command" (p. 371); there were not thirteen assaults at Franklin, but only one general assault, with continuous and bitter hand-to-hand fighting at the breastworks until long after dark (p. 377); Hood lost a total of approximately 5000, not 15,000, at Nashville (p. 378); Lee was appointed commander-in-chief on February 6, not February 9 (p. 382). General James H. Wilson's masterly cavalry campaign into Alabama and Georgia in the spring of 1865 is not mentioned. Few campaigns have been as well planned and as well executed. The publications of the Southern Historical Society and the twelve-volume Scribner series of *Campaigns of the Civil War* might well have been mentioned in the Bibliographical Note.

The use of the English military terms: battalions for regiments; rails for railroads; and such terms as ratings, enlistment, and special-constable indicate the English military training of the author.

The book is thoroughly readable and one is carried through it by the easy flowing style. The volume maintains the high standard of appearance and book-making set by the previously issued volumes of the series.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

*Recent History of the United States.* By FREDERIC L. PAXSON, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. (Boston and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xii, 603. \$3.75.)

THIS book is not a revision of the author's *New Nation* which appeared some six years ago as volume IV. of the well-known *Riverside*

series. That volume commenced with the close of the Civil War and ended with the beginning of the World War in 1914. This book begins with the administration of Hayes and brings the story down to the election of Harding. Here, as in the author's earlier work, the primary emphasis is placed upon the social and economic phases of our history, although the political events are given all the space they deserve. Those historians who insist that a disproportionate amount of space be devoted to very recent events should be highly gratified by the fact that Professor Paxson has given 156 pages, or one-fourth of the entire book, to an account of the six stirring years from 1914 to 1920. In this space he has succeeded in giving a remarkably sane and well-balanced narrative of this country's part in the great struggle and its aftermath.

Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of this text is the author's catholicity in his choice of subject-matter. He has endeavored to envisage the manysidedness of American life and has presented his facts calmly and judiciously. For instance, in his chapter on Post-Bellum Ideals he discusses such topics as new types of literature, the development of higher education, scientific scholarship, and the like. No doubt the most unusual and significant chapter is that in which amateur and professional sport, club life, and related matters come in for their share of attention. Most history teachers now agree that such topics are quite as appropriate as politics, war, and economics.

In devoting a considerable amount of space to the development of business enterprise, the author has but followed the tendency that characterizes nearly all the more recent and popular history texts. It is as an economic historian that Professor Paxson is most at home. And yet so complicated are the forces that are, and for many years have been, at work in bringing our economic society to its present state that even so excellent an historian as Professor Paxson has not entirely succeeded in making clear their interaction, sequence, and significance. Certainly the average sophomore, even after a careful perusal of this text, and aided by a clever instructor, will still find difficulty in understanding the complex life that surrounds him. But after all, it is no easy task to tread the mazes and chart the paths through this wilderness of complexity into the light of understanding. If Professor Paxson has failed, the reviewer ventures to suggest that his chief difficulty lies in the fact that he has made a fetish of impartiality. The intelligent reader will gain the impression that the author has been too fearful of offending some of the numerous groups that are parties in the political and economic conflicts forever going on about us. The prejudices of school-book commissions, and college trustees being what they are, this is almost a perfect text for the period it covers, but great books are never colorless.

B. B. KENDRICK.

*Daniel H. Burnham, Architect, Planner of Cities.* By CHARLES MOORE. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xvii, 260; ix, 238. \$20.00.)

WHEN in 1901 the Senate Park Commission was created, to devise and carry out the systematic development and improvement of the park plan of Washington, Mr. Charles Moore was made its secretary. In this service he became intimately acquainted with the three men most conspicuous in the creation and development of the new plans—C. F. McKim the architect, Frederick Law Olmsted the landscape designer, and Daniel Hopkins Burnham, also an architect, of Chicago. His intimacy with Burnham continued until Burnham's death in Heidelberg in 1912, and the enthusiastic admiration which developed from this intimacy finds expression in the two handsome volumes which are the subject of this notice. It is a one-sided account of the life of a man whose career was so remarkable, and so typically American, as to deserve a more symmetrical treatment; but it is fair to say that Mr. Moore's accounts of Burnham's greater works—the Chicago Columbian Fair, the Washington Commission work, and the great city-planning enterprises which occupied the later years of his life—are exceedingly well done and with a modest relegation to the background of the author's own connection with them.

Daniel Burnham was a shining example of the possibilities of self-culture for an American of fine natural mental endowments, strong character, and an undeviating purpose to make the most of his environment. There was nothing in his antecedents or early education to give promise of the conspicuous success he attained in architecture, unless, indeed, it were the strength of character inherited through a long line from his Puritan New England ancestors. He failed to enter both Harvard and Yale; he attended no school of architecture, and his only preparation for the practice of architecture, upon which he launched independently in 1872, was a brief apprenticeship in the office of Mr. P. B. Wight, who is still living in Chicago. Upon this precarious foundation he built up a practice which at one time was the largest of any in the United States, and which exercised a notable influence upon the development of the art in this country, especially in the field of commercial architecture. His success is the more noteworthy when we observe that nearly all the distinguished architects of his time had enjoyed a thorough technical training, most of them having spent years in study abroad, while his training had been wholly acquired in the school of practical experience. He had a wonderful gift for absorbing all that was best in his environment and for surrounding himself with the sort of men who would be most helpful and inspiring. In his office practice he was less the gifted artist than the man of large conceptions, wise judgment, practical sense, and rare executive ability. He was one of the pioneers in the design and construction of tall office buildings.

It was in the Chicago Fair that he first found full scope for his

peculiar talents; he dominated that enterprise without designing one of its buildings. In later years the talents there revealed found still larger fields in the great civic plans on which he was engaged in Washington and Chicago, and for San Francisco, Cleveland, Manila, and Baguio (P. I.). It is of this phase of his life that Mr. Moore gives the most satisfactory and sympathetic account. Except in one or two chapters he comments sparingly on the character and deeds of his hero, allowing the events narrated and the letters and diary of the man to speak for themselves; sometimes, indeed, at unnecessary length. It would have been better to abridge the extracts from these for the sake of a fuller account of Burnham's earlier professional career and at least some effort at a critical estimate of Burnham's rank as an artist and his rightful place among those who, between 1876 and 1900, contributed to raise American architecture from its low estate to its present stage of distinguished achievement. The imposing list of his works is relegated to an appendix without note or comment. Yet in spite of its incompleteness, one cannot read Mr. Moore's record without conceiving a warm admiration for the man they picture, not more for his architectural skill than for his rare gift for friendship, in which the warmth and constancy of his affection made his later years especially rich in happiness.

A. D. F. HAMLIN.

*The American Railroad Problem: a Study in War and Reconstruction.* By I. LEO SHARFMAN, Professor of Economics, University of Michigan. [The Century New World Series, edited by W. F. Willoughby.] (New York: Century Company. 1921. Pp. xiii, 474. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR SHARFMAN has succeeded in his attempt to write a well-balanced and impartial analysis of the American railroad problem. The volume is particularly good in its historical summary of the antecedents of the present situation. It furnishes also an admirable résumé of the results of federal control, and clearly sets forth the outstanding features of the Transportation Act of 1920.

The historic approach traces railroad development (1) from 1830 through the period of unrestrained railroad freedom to 1870; and (2) from the beginnings of state control, 1871-1875, to (3) the emergence of federal regulation, which began with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. The original Act to Regulate Commerce accomplished its primary purpose of curbing rate discrimination and of checking high tariffs, but extensive amendments were needed. Each is discussed in turn, and the year 1906, when the Hepburn amendment was enacted, is taken as the beginning of the concluding period in railway development prior to the war.

The chapter which deals with private war-time operation contains an excellent review of railroad accomplishment during the period of Ameri-

can neutrality and of the attempt of the railroad companies, by voluntary unification through their Railroads' War Board, to meet the extraordinary transportation demands when the United States entered the World War. The reasons why the War Board could not satisfactorily cope with the situation, although its accomplishments were both substantial and important, are clearly set forth, as are also the reasons why federal operation of railroads became necessary.

The author is at his best in his two chapters on federal control. He shows a fairly complete understanding of the policies and performance of the Railroad Administration, and he has appraised the results with impartiality. His conclusion is that federal control creditably accomplished the purposes for which it was instituted. Essential traffic was moved successfully and expeditiously. The cost, while large, was decidedly reasonable. Yet the experience during a war emergency throws little light upon the broader question as to the expediency of federal railroad operation under normal conditions.

Part II. of the volume sets forth the author's conception of the essentials of reconstructive policy. It precedes the concluding section (part III.) which outlines the background of the 1920 legislation, describes the leading plans which were proposed in 1919, and critically summarizes the act as finally passed. This summary is well arranged: the perspective is excellent.

It is apparent that Professor Sharfman is not impressed with the railroad-management viewpoint on the so-called "National Agreements" entered into between the Director General and the several unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. No direct reference is made to what one railroad executive termed the "squandering of morale" through the extreme centralization of control in matters of discipline and other relations with labor. It is apparent, too, that the author minimizes the extent of under-maintenance, as he makes no allowance for that factor in his summary of financial results. He quotes an early estimate (May, 1920) of the total deficit of federal operation, as approximately \$900,000,000. This estimate allows nothing for under-maintenance. The preface of the book is dated May 16, 1921. Apparently Professor Sharfman failed to note the Director General's letter of May 5, 1921, to the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations. In that letter the Director General estimated the deficit as at least \$1,200,000,000. The difference is accounted for mainly by recognized claims for under-maintenance.

From the viewpoint of style and arrangement, two minor criticisms may be made. There is too much unnecessary repetition. The same subject or phase of a subject is often treated in two or three chapters and in much the same manner. The second criticism attaches to part II, "The Essentials of Reconstructive Policy". This is admitted to be a digression. The author's own views as to what should be done are not tied into what was done by the Transportation Act. Logically it would

have been better if parts II. and III. had been transposed. These defects, however, are minor and detract but little from the value of the book.

WILLIAM J. CUNNINGHAM.

*Our Air Force: the Keystone of National Defense.* By WILLIAM MITCHELL, Brigadier General, Air Service. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1921. Pp. xxvi, 223. \$5.00.)

DURING the fall of 1917 and the spring of 1918 perhaps the most widely held belief in the United States was that we were going to "win the war through the air". Magazine covers pictured the sky dark with American aeroplanes on their way to wipe out German factories and cities with bombs. Inside the covers, glowing accounts told of what could be done and of the steps taken or just about to be taken to achieve these big results. Many of these articles seemed to receive encouragement from the authorities, at least there were no statements from responsible people suggesting that perhaps the pictures were exaggerated. Meanwhile the reality in France was quite different, and unknown. Early in July, 1918, there was only one American day bombing squadron. (No night ones. The second day bombing squadron began operations in September and at the armistice there were only four that had ever bombed, not six as the official figures show.) This was really less than half a squadron, as there were only eight planes. One was being repaired and six of the others went on a raid into Germany. By reason of absurd leadership none of these came back, so the American day bombing service was practically wiped out. This ended bombing operations for a month, and the German newspapers waxed sarcastic over the event because they knew, of course, that they had captured our only day bombing squadron.

The American public does not yet know the facts concerning our air force, nor will General Mitchell's book enlighten them. Indeed his book is chiefly devoted to what he thinks could be done in the future, and gives a very poor notion of what actually was done in the past. His descriptions of the work of the various branches of the air service might be called the "literary theory" of the air service, for they include much of what was supposed to be done by each but little of what they actually did.

Two quotations, the first from his foreword and the second from the last chapter, will give a better idea of the nature of the book than pages of comment. The first (p. xxiii) is,

In case of the attack of a group of such airplanes or airships, 500 explosions would occur covering the whole of the lower part of New York, which would practically wreck that entire part of the city; and not only paralyze all the business, but would cause a conflagration such as has never been known before. Such a fire occurring in New York, situated on a narrow peninsula between two rivers, would make it impossible for the population to get away from it on account of the congestion of the means of transportation that would result when this great population attempted to escape. They would be burned like rats in a trap.



The second (p. 218) is,

Looking into the not very distant future, we can see the organization of our aeronautical resources so disposed that the minute war starts, our airships can cross the Atlantic Ocean within thirty-six hours, keep the whole area under observation and report anything that comes across it. They will be able to cross the Pacific in seventy-five hours or less, and do the same thing in that area.

Nevertheless, because of General Mitchell's authoritative position his book will have to be read when the real history of "Our Air Force" is written.

W. S. HOLT.

*The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860.* By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xviii, 401. \$5.00.)

THIS is a book Theodore Roosevelt would have liked. It is the narrative of a people who lived the strenuous life, who faced hardships with courage, who were never dismayed by adversity nor made soft by good fortune. It is the story of the merchants and seafarers of Massachusetts during the days of American shipping supremacy, when the sailing vessels of the Bay State made the American flag a familiar sight in all the sea-ports of the world.

Professor Morison gives a faithful account of all the maritime activities of Massachusetts from 1783 to 1860, tracing the record through alternating periods of depression and prosperity—the recovery following the Revolution, the rapid expansion of the early years of the Napoleonic wars, the ruin and devastation of the Embargo and the War of 1812, and the wonderful golden age of the sailing vessel, that reached its climax in the majestic clipper. No phase of seafaring activity is neglected. He shows how cod and mackerel were caught in nearby waters and on the Grand Banks; he takes us on voyages around the world with intrepid whale-hunters. He gives the details of the many branches of commerce—foreign trade with Europe and the Indies and the lands of the Pacific, coasting trade with the Middle Atlantic and the Southern States, and trade around the Horn with California and Oregon. He follows the varying fortunes of each village and city that drew its living from the sea. He takes us to the shipyards and shows us ships in the making under the watchful eyes of world-famous builders. He tells of the hardy seamen and captains upon whose resourcefulness and skill the success of all maritime venture ultimately depended. We see the opulent merchant princes of Salem and Boston directing their multifarious enterprises from wharf and counting-room, and we go to their homes to see the manner of their living, learning of their shrewdness and foresight, their politics and philanthropies, and not infrequently of sharp dealing and tight-fisted parsimony. And above all we learn of ships, from the light Chebacco



boat employed in local commerce and fishing to the tall graceful clipper driving before the wind under billows of canvas to sensational records of speed.

The story is told in vivid and picturesque language that brings out the romance and the color of what was one of the most colorful phases of the economic history of the United States. At a time when the great majority of the people were devoting their energies to exploiting the resources of the earth, a goodly portion of the inhabitants of Massachusetts still heeded the call of the sea, taking their sustenance from its waters or ranging over its surface to traffic and barter in every corner of the world. They were buyers and sellers of goods, but they were also dealers in romance and adventure and mystery. Professor Morison has caught the spirit of the people and of their time, and he has written with a heart that "giveth grace unto every art". The achievement for which he merits greatest distinction is the creation of the proper atmosphere for his tale. It is authentic history with the imaginative appeal of *Java Head* and *Moby Dick*.

The author has drawn his materials from a wide variety of sources, employing many documents hitherto unused for works of history. He has probably been a little careless in not observing the fact that Federal statistics of shipping from 1789 to 1793 are merely statements of tonnage entering or leaving American ports. The figures for 1789 are extremely low because Federal collectors did not begin work until after midsummer. In relying upon these figures as a measure of the increase of American tonnage he has unduly magnified the maritime progress of Massachusetts for the first years of the national period (pp. 96, 106, 166). He is also in error in stating that a law of 1817 required that two-thirds of the crews of American ships be citizens of the United States (p. 354).

A highly admirable feature of the book is the large number of excellent illustrations, most of which are reproductions of old prints and paintings of Massachusetts ships, captains, and merchants.

T. W. VAN METRE.

*The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875.* By BLANCHE EVANS HAZARD, Professor of Home Economics in Cornell University. [Harvard Economic Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1921. Pp. x, 293. \$3.50.)

SEVERAL years ago Miss Hazard published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* an account of the organization of the boot and shoe industry in Massachusetts before 1875, which represented the results of six years' research in that field. She now publishes, as one of the *Harvard Economic Studies*, a maturer and more comprehensive monograph upon the same subject, based in part upon four years of later investigation. She thereby renders two important services to American economic history:

she gives us an exhaustive analysis of the evolution of a typical industry from the home and handicraft stage to the factory system, and preserves many interesting records—including oral testimony—relating to that industry which otherwise would have been lost. More than one-half of the book consists of appendixes containing, among some items of curious rather than scientific interest, many excerpts from private papers and accounts and a few documents which will be of permanent value to historians and economists.

Miss Hazard generalizes very conservatively, and enforces each step in her analysis by an abundance of illustrative material. All of the latter, as the title indicates, is taken from Massachusetts. Only an occasional allusion suggests to the reader the contemporary development of boot and shoe making in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. That is a field yet to be covered before we shall have a complete history of the industry in America. But as a study primarily of organization, this book is sufficiently final to be satisfactory. It fairly covers its subject.

In the final chapter of the text proper, under the caption the Human Element, Miss Hazard deviates somewhat from her main theme into an anecdotal and biographical by-path. Her short accounts of representative New England shoemakers and her rather summary description of the early attempts to organize the shoe workers of Massachusetts into unions, are apparently by-products of her major researches. They contribute little to the direct argument of her book, in view of the date at which her study terminates, except to add, perhaps, a finishing touch to the contrast between the period she describes and that with which the present generation is familiar. Labor conditions among boot and shoe operatives in Massachusetts before 1875 were not entirely typical of conditions throughout the Union.

The book has a model index and contains several sketch-maps and plates; indeed from the book-maker's point of view it is rather a *de luxe* volume in its class. Incidentally to her main theme the author adds some interesting details to our knowledge of commercial relations between New England and the ante-bellum South, and of the Yankee migration to that section in the wake of trade. Additional light is also thrown upon the causes and effects of the crises of 1837 and 1857 within New England.

It is to be hoped that this excellent monograph will suggest similar investigations into other industries, whose records are perishing and many details of whose development may otherwise remain for all time obscure.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

#### MINOR NOTICES

*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918.* Volume I. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1921, pp. 487.) An epidemic of influenza prevented the Association from holding the annual meeting which it had expected to hold at Cleveland in December of that year. Therefore the present volume does not contain papers

read at that meeting, which would normally form a part of its contents. It contains: (1) full reports of Council and committees for that year; (2) Mr. Thayer's intended presidential address on Vagaries of Historians; (3) four papers prepared for the Agricultural History Society and here printed in accordance with the terms of the agreement between the two organizations; and (4) a directory of the American Historical Association stating the addresses of members, their occupations or official positions, their membership in kindred societies, and the special fields of history in which they are respectively interested. Volume II., containing the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, was issued previously, and was reviewed earlier in this journal (p. 133, above). The three contributions to American agricultural history are: (1) a careful and interesting history of the sheep industry in the United States (105 pp.), by M. L. G. Connor, of the Department of Agriculture; (2) a biographical sketch of Dr. John Mitchell (d. 1768), naturalist and maker of the Mitchell map, by Mr. Lyman Carrier, of the same department; (3) an account of the early days of the Albemarle Agricultural Society, by Dr. Rodney H. True, of the University of Pennsylvania; and (4) the minute book (88 pp.) of that society, founded in Albemarle County, Va., by Thomas Jefferson and others, covering its very interesting transactions from 1817 to 1828.

*The Social History of the Western World: an Outline Syllabus.* By Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph.D., Professor of History in Clark University. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1921, pp. xii, 126). Professor Barnes rightly thinks that we ought to give far more attention to social and economic history than has hitherto been customary, and has provided a useful aid to its study, in the form of a syllabus with brief bibliographies, which are modern and good, and his topic-entries are well thought out. Syllabi are a genus of which it is peculiarly true that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, but the reviewer believes that this manual, with its wide sweep and modern viewpoint, will be very helpful in the hands of teachers, broadening their appreciation of social history and of the amount of it which it is desirable to weave into their general courses, and less helpful in the hands of any but advanced students or as a means of teaching social history in an independent course, for its own sake solely. Just as elders brought up on traditional Christianity find it hard to estimate how virtuous a younger generation could be without its help, so teachers trained in history mostly political (because mankind has been chiefly organized in states) will find it difficult to judge what success would attend the experiment of cutting loose from all that framework and organizing the young people's historical study frankly as social history alone. In the history of the medieval period, in which the nation had not yet fully become the dominant element in human society, teachers have already done this in a considerable degree, and for this period Professor Barnes's syllabus offers little that is new. Half the book is given to

earlier periods than the medieval, with preliminary sections on such general topics as the biological and psychological aspects of human progress, or the place of law in social history—matter too difficult and abstract for beginning students. Then follows much good matter on pre-literary and ancient history. The modern period has no more than a third of the book, a small allowance in view of the enormous mass and importance of the data. The Christian church and religion, which are commonly thought to have played quite a part in the social history of the western world, are curiously minimized—eight lines in the medieval period, five in the period preceding.

*Tylissos à l'Époque Minoenne: Étude de Préhistoire Crétoise.* Par Joseph Hazzidakis. (Paris, Geuthner, 1921, pp. 89, ten plates, 25 fr.) This translation into French of an article in the *Ephemeris Archaeologike* for 1912 consists mainly of a description of the articles found by Dr. Joseph Hazzidakis in the course of the excavations conducted by him at Tylissos, a Minoan site half-way on the road from Cnossos to the grotto on Mt. Ida. They include vases of the usual types, but not of very fine quality; some fresco fragments, and two inscribed tablets; a lot of huge copper caldrons; a remarkable bronze statuette of a muscular man in attitude of worship, and a miscellany of objects in lead, stone, terra-cotta, bone, and ivory.

What gives larger significance to the excavations at Tylissos is that, according to the report of Dr. Hazzidakis, which is corroborated by the testimony of M. L. Franchet—at whose instigation and with whose collaboration the translation has been made—the three periods into which, on the basis of the stratification, the history of Tylissos falls do not coincide with the three Minoan periods (Early, Middle, and Late) established by Sir Arthur Evans for Cnossos and accepted generally as applying to all Crete. At Tylissos Early Minoan includes the first sub-period of Middle Minoan while Middle Minoan includes the first two sub-periods of Late Minoan, to which accordingly Late Minoan III., or Mycenaean, alone is left. M. Franchet's interest in these determinations arises from the fact that they accord broadly with the divisions which, from the point of view of ceramic technique, he finds to exist at Cnossos itself (*Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, XXII. 1). Translated into terms of metal M. Franchet's system is as follows: Aeneolithic (E. M. I. and II.), Bronze 1 (E. M. III. + M. M. I.), Bronze 2 (M. M. II. + beginning of M. M. III.), Bronze 3 (end of M. M. III. + L. M. I. and II.), and Bronze 4 (L. M. III.). In a translation this nomenclature has merit; but only in a translation. As our records run, in the Aegean world of the second millennium B. C. the original must always be written in the language of pots and palaces.

The historian in quest of a chronological conspectus of prehistoric Greece has had hitherto to guide him the Minoan system based on Cnossos (A. J. Evans, *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civilisation*

*Minoenne*, 1906), the Cycladic system based on Phylakopi (Dawkins and Droop, *B. S. A.*, XVII.), and, since the epoch-making excavations of the American School at Corinth, the Helladic system of Messrs. Wace and Blegen (*B. S. A.*, XXII. 175ff.). In his book *Korakou* (Amer. School at Athens, 1922) Dr. Blegen has combined in a single tablet of synchronisms these three systems. It is interesting to observe what happens when Dr. Hazzidakis's divisions are substituted in this table for those of Sir Arthur Evans: Early Helladic, for example, coincides precisely with Tylissos *a*, and there seems to be something to be said from Hellas for splitting Middle Minoan III. More and more clearly as these investigations proceed the fact emerges that the great period of prehistoric Greece, whatever be its Cretan, insular, or mainland subdivisions, runs without faltering from Middle Minoan II. to Late Minoan II. inclusive, or from 2000 to 1400 B. C.

W. S. FERGUSON.

*Classical Associations of Places in Italy.* By Frances Ellis Sabin, assistant professor of Latin at the University of Wisconsin. (Madison, Wis., the Author, 1921, pp. 526, \$5.00.) The plan of Miss Sabin's book has been to gather together several hundred passages in classical authors which describe places in Italy, narrate events which happened in them, or otherwise relate to them, and to arrange them in alphabetical order of places, with the Latin or Greek on the left-hand page, and the best translations opposite, and with a number of pleasing illustrations. Thus the traveller or reader may refresh his remembrance, or learn for the first time, of the charms of Baiae as described by Propertius or Cassiodorus, of Pliny's villa at Laurentum, of Livy's account of the battle of Lake Trasimene, or Strabo's of Tarentum. The sights of Rome are of course treated with special fullness. Such a book can make no claim to importance as an historical source, but it can give much pleasure to many historical students.

*Vitae Paparum Avenionensium.* Stephanus Baluzius edidit. Nouvelle Édition d'après les Manuscrits, par G. Mollat, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. Tomes I. et III. (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1916-1921, pp. xxxi, 629; 561.) The original edition of the Lives of the Avignonese Popes, published in 1693, fails to meet the demands of modern critical scholarship. Baluze, as is well known, drew his material from a variety of chronicles. He extracted the pertinent sections and published each separately under the name of the pope to whom it referred, labelling these excerpts as the first, second, third, etc., life of the pope in question. The value of the sources thus published is unequal. Much of the material is of the highest importance while some portions are of doubtful value. Baluze made no attempt to classify the various lives and they have been generally treated as of equal importance by those who have consulted his collection. M. Mollat has therefore rendered a great

service to scholars by publishing a critical edition in which he has collated the manuscripts used by Baluze with other copies found in Belgian, German, French, and Italian archives. He has in some instances been able to determine more accurately the authorship of certain pieces and to distinguish between the work of chroniclers and their continuators, and has given a critical estimate of the value of the different parts. In the new edition, the dates given in the chronicles have been reduced to the modern style and their exactness determined. This has led to important changes, especially in connection with the correspondence of Clement V., Baluze having reckoned the beginning of his pontificate from the day of his election, June 5, 1305, instead of from his installation on November 14, as he should have done.

The original edition was published in two volumes, the first containing the "Lives" together with the valuable notes of Baluze, the second volume being devoted to the documents and other sources on which these notes were based. Mollat's edition is divided into three volumes. The first contains the Lives, followed by a critical description of the various manuscripts consulted by the editor; the second, a new edition of Baluze's notes; and the third the collection of proofs found in the second volume of the old edition. As a supplement to the present work, Mollat has recently published more fully the results of his investigations in a little book entitled, *Étude Critique sur les Vitae Paparum Avenionensium d'Étienne Baluze* (Paris, 1917).

A. C. HOWLAND.

*Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester.* Translated and epitomized by Isaac Herbert Jeayes, sometime Assistant Keeper of the MSS., British Museum. (Colchester, the Town Council, 1921, pp. xxxiii, 242, £2 2s.) Colchester is one of the most ancient and interesting of English boroughs. It has long been known as possessing valuable records which were used by Brady, Madox, and other writers on English municipal history. In 1865, Henry Harrod published three reports on the Colchester muniments, and between 1902 and 1907 there appeared three important publications of borough records—namely the *Red Paper Book* (1902), the *Charters of the Borough of Colchester* (1904), and the *Oath Book or Red Parchment Book* (1907).

The present volume comprises a translation of the nine court rolls of the borough that are in existence for the forty-two years between 1310 and 1352. Although thirty-three rolls have been lost, some of them representing most important and interesting years, those that remain present a valuable picture of early fourteenth-century municipal life and activity. They are a true record of the legal business of the borough and this business was a large one. Over three thousand persons are mentioned in various capacities and the laws of the borough and of the king seem to have been more honored in their breach than in their observance. Trespass, which covered a multitude of sins, is naturally the most fre-



quent plea, but debt, nuisance, land, seizure, assault, and *hamsokne* (burglary) are quite frequent. Interesting light is thrown on the plea of *freshforce* as a process in municipal law. Many curious and quaint entries occur and there are references to common scolds and the ducking-stool. No cases of witchcraft are mentioned and the burgesses appear to have been hard-headed and practical folk.

Although ably translated and epitomized by Mr. Jeayes, the collection lacks a really adequate introduction such as is found in the *Publications* of the Selden Society. Mr. Benham, who is chairman of the Museum and Muniments Committee of the Colchester Town Council, has contributed a brief general introduction and a *Who's Who* of the principal personages mentioned in the volume. The index is almost entirely confined to proper names.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

*The Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio of Padua: a Critical Study.* By Ephraim Emerton, Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University, Emeritus. [Harvard Theological Studies, vol. VIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. 81, \$1.25.) This monograph by Professor Emerton is an almost perfect example of the sort of study which he undertakes. He brings to the subject an exceptional equipment for the task and an exceptional interest in it. The very inadequate knowledge of Marsiglio and his work that prevails in America gave the opportunity for an illuminating treatment of the subject and it is hard to see how the treatment could have been more enlightening and more satisfactory.

The scheme of the work is to present first the general conditions that made Marsiglio possible, and then to analyze the *Defensor Pacis*, selecting the doctrines that are particularly salient from the point of view of history and explaining them with lucidity and soundness. In accordance with this scheme we have first an analysis of the political doctrines of Thomas Aquinas and of Dante. This is accompanied by an adequate summary of the political and ecclesiastical conditions of the time. Then comes the wholly satisfactory presentation of Marsiglio's epoch-making ideas.

In the exposition of this remarkable body of doctrine not only is the broad outline most intelligibly presented, but the learning of Professor Emerton is brought to bear on the controverted points in Marsiglio's argument with most satisfactory results. Of particular interest is the author's judgment, based on a careful comprehensive study, that the expression "*pars valentior*" signifies "majority", rather than "the more competent part"; so that Marsiglio's doctrine as to the seat of supreme or sovereign authority in the state is a doctrine of democracy and not of aristocracy. Students of Marsiglio will all be interested in the judgment of Professor Emerton on this point. But I do not feel sure that all of



them will be convinced even by the powerful reasoning by which this judgment is sustained.

Another point that will be regarded with interest by students of Marsiglio is the interpretation of "Veritas" to mean "the Gospel", rather than "the truth"—an interpretation which puts a different light on Marsiglio's sentence "according to the truth and to the opinion of Aristotle . . . the essential source of law is the people".

Besides the detailed analysis and discussion of the text of Marsiglio's great work Professor Emerton gives us also the complete facts, so far as known, as to the personality of Marsiglio, the details of his career, and the influence of his work on the later generations. There is no disguising the fact that much obscurity still remains in regard to these matters, but it is very satisfactory to have under the seal of Professor Emerton's scholarship a full statement of all that is known.

*The Conservative Character of Martin Luther.* By George M. Stephenson, Ph.D. (Philadelphia, United Lutheran Publication House, 1921, pp. 143, \$1.20.) This book from the Historical Department of the University of Minnesota offers a brief, condensed, simple, and sober interpretation of details, with which the reader is presupposed to be familiar. The author traces the conservative thread running through a life crowded with great events and minor incidents. The formative years of Luther are shown to lack all revolutionary impulses. His motives for reform proceed from consistency with what he had implicitly received as the Church's teaching. The analysis made of the famous theses results in the indication of nothing more than a conscious dissent from an influential element in the Church. Luther's claim that he was only trying to clear up what was true Catholic doctrine is substantiated not only from what the theses contain, but from the omission of much that they might have been expected to express. Up to the Leipzig discussion, Luther's arguments are declared to be mostly historical; afterwards they became also theological. The date of the break with Rome was 1520.

With the emergence of actual revolutionary movements breaking away from his conservative restraint, the decision of Luther against the Wittenberg radicals, and against the Peasants' Revolt, as well as the part which he took in the much discussed Marburg Colloquy, furnish further proofs of the author's thesis. The final chapter on the Augsburg Confession could be very materially strengthened, as a triumph of conservatism after thirteen years of hot conflict.

The author is rarely diverted from his "thread". But one instance occurs, when on p. 79 he states the Lutheran definition of the Church to be that merely of the ideal church. To Luther and his associates, "the community of saints" is not, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession asserts, "a Platonic idea", like the "Republic", but it actually exists, *i.e.*, "truly believing people, scattered here and there, throughout the whole world".

HENRY EYSTER JACOBS.

*The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700.* By James E. Gillespie, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies, vol. XCI., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1921, pp. 367, \$3.00.) This careful and exhaustive study of Mr. Gillespie's is an excellent example of one phase of historical work now evident in the United States. In a thick volume of 367 pages, with an excellent bibliography—but no index—he has presented a great mass of material relating to the influence of oversea expansion on England. He has brought together a huge array of facts of almost every kind. It cannot in fairness be said that he has greatly altered the general opinion of the effect of that movement, but he has provided a wide basis for that opinion, he has given a multitude of illustrations to modify or confirm it; and if he has arrived at no very startling conclusions, he has covered a field which need not be cultivated again within any reasonable period.

Such work as this is necessary and useful as providing the material for future histories, of countries or of the world. It is of value to many workers outside the field of history proper—to the literary historian and the student of society in particular. And it is not without its own peculiar interest. The story of the development of such a society influenced by such a movement cannot fail to attract attention, not only of professional historians but of a wider audience, once brought to its attention.

It is unfortunate, however inevitable, that certain studies of the development of the East India Company have appeared since the book was completed; though they would, perhaps, only have confirmed, not modified, the conclusions here set down. There is some question whether individual statements, like that of Child, that "England could pay a greater tax in his time in one year than his forefathers could in twenty", should be taken too seriously, unless one defines "forefathers" carefully. And it is questionable, as a mere matter of arrangement, whether the collection of botanical specimens should be included in a chapter on "Thought". But these are details, which could be multiplied indefinitely, as personal opinions would vary. On the whole it may be said that Mr. Gillespie has done the task set for him well and thoroughly; and that his thesis will be of value to many, and of interest to not a few.

*The Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845-1849.* By Hugo C. M. Wendel, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in New York University. (New York, University Press, 1921, pp. viii, 114, \$3.00.) This is an interesting and valuable book, which outlines the evolution of industrial freedom in Prussia during the period from 1845 to 1849. The author explains in a lucid style the character of the industrial system established by the law of 1845, examines the reactions of the various working classes toward the new economic legislation, and traces the subsequent policies of the Prussian monarchy, which culminated in the restrictive industrial laws of 1849. The work is packed with interesting information and reveals an exhaustive study of the source-literature of

the period. A comprehensive bibliography of contemporary and non-contemporary material, numerous foot-notes, and a good index add to the value of the study.

The author outlines in his introduction the industrial reorganization of Prussia under Stein and Hardenberg, and traces the history of Prussian craft-guild legislation to 1845. One might wish that he had fully explained the diversified Prussian system, which varied from the industrial liberalism of French origin in the Rhine province to the restrictive guild system in the provinces east of the Elbe. The rise of a new social group and a new system of manufacture created the necessity for a uniform organization of industry in all the provinces. This was established by the law of 1845. The terrible agrarian situation, however, especially in Silesia, and the discontent of over two million industrial workers, hindered the rapid development of the factory system. Although the reactionary report of the governor of Silesia is mentioned, the author does not show the general attitude of the provincial bureaucracy toward the agricultural discontent.

The March Revolution prevented the orderly transition from an obsolete guild economy to a modern factory economy. During this period, the master craftsmen as well as the proletariat of Prussia were discontented with this transitional stage of industry. The liberal law of 1845 was violently attacked. In the final chapter of his study, Professor Wendel has outlined in a masterly way the policies of the Prussian monarchy toward the industrial problem, and has related the liberal legislation of the period to the great events of the Revolution of 1848.

RALPH H. LUTZ.

*Betrachtungen zum Weltkrieg. Zweiter Teil: Während des Krieges.* Von Th. von Bethmann Hollweg. (Berlin, Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1921, pp. xv, 280.) The first half of this second volume of Bethmann-Hollweg's "Observations" deals, as did the first volume, which has already been noted in the *Review* (XXV. 618 ff.), with matters already well known and adds little that is really new, except to give the Chancellor's motives and defense of his policy. Thus, in discussing such questions as the responsibility for the war, the manifesto of October, 1916, promising independence to the Poles (which Bethmann vigorously and probably correctly avers did not thwart any possible separate peace with Russia), the adoption of unrestricted submarine warfare, and President Wilson's peace note of December 18, 1916, Bethmann-Hollweg is merely threshing over old straw. A much fuller and more enlightening insight into these matters can now be found in the two large volumes, with documents, containing the stenographic reports of the public hearings of the Fifteenth Investigating Committee of the German National Assembly.

The second half of the volume, however, contains highly interesting, and often quite new, light on the extraordinary political confusion and personal enmities in the German domestic political situation which cul-

minated with the dramatic crisis of July, 1917, and the fall of the man who had been chancellor since 1909. This was brought about partly by the increasingly insistent demand for equal suffrage in Prussia; Bethmann had favored this in principle and did accept it, in fact, on July 7, though in the Kaiser's "Easter message", three months earlier, he had used such veiled language in holding out the prospect of a reform of the three-class system of voting, that many persons believed he intended to replace it, after the war, not by equal suffrage, but by some plural system of voting. His own changed attitude and the growing demand for immediate equal suffrage in Prussia was in no small part due to the influence exerted by the Russian Revolution. The crisis was also brought about by his growing conviction of the opportuneness of efforts for a negotiated peace, due in part to the supposed willingness of the Entente to open peace negotiations as indicated by the mission of the papal nuncio, Pacelli, and the offer of Prince Sixtus of Bourbon. But the greatest causes of the crisis were the disappointment over the apparent failure of the submarine campaign, the growing war-weariness, the lack of food, and the consequent general irritation of nerves within Germany, but most of all the desire of the German General Staff to be rid of Bethmann as chancellor. In fact, it was, according to Bethmann's account, the threat of Hindenburg and Ludendorff that they would resign, as they could no longer co-operate with him as chancellor, which led him to hand in his own resignation.

The book as a whole confirms the impression that Bethmann usually meant well, but had not the force of character successfully to oppose the militarists.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

*Der Kronprinz und sein wahres Gesicht.* Von Carl Lange. (Leipzig, F. W. Grunow, 1921, pp. 136.) There is not much more to be said about Friedrich Wilhelm who might have been Kaiser if the market for Kaisers had not suddenly weakened. Nowadays the comments of his enemies, like the ferocious Swiss-French novelist Louis Dumur, and the comments of his admirers, like the excited Junker Carl Lange here under discussion, come to pretty much the same thing. Dumur, in his terrible story *Le Boucher de Verdun*, represents the prince as pushing shameless love-affairs while his division was being battered to pieces before Verdun. Lange admits, on page 38: "Wir wollen offen und ehrlich zugeben, dass der Kronprinz eine gewisse Schwäche gegenüber dem weiblichen Geschlecht zeigte." Dumur presents him as a fatuous figurehead, contemptuously pushed aside, when crucial decisions were necessary, by the old soldiers his nominal staff subordinates. Lange's ostensible tribute to his courage (p. 99): "Seine Umgebung musste manche Täuschung vornehmen, um ihn zu verhindern, sich in die grösste Gefahr zu begeben", comes very near a confession that someone beside the prince was conducting the campaign. There is no question that the poor fellow has been

complimented by the imputation to him of offenses of which he was entirely incapable—at least mentally incapable. The world cursed at heartless telegrams dealing gaily, in the days of the ghastliest suffering, with “cheese”, “ladies”, and “corpses”—till it transpired that the telegrams were really the most serious of communications couched in a secret code. An unexpected white uniform was mistaken for a tennis-outfit. Thefts and outrages of soldiers and subalterns were unjustly saddled on the commander. Nor is the erstwhile crown prince a fool. Lange’s citations from his books show a good deal of poetical feeling and a pleasant command of literary German. Said Maximilian Harden of the heir apparent: “Not a bad sort. A chap who has many good impulses, but knows little . . . has little to do, therefore learns things not particularly good for him and often gets into mischief.” Lange was a personal friend of the prince’s, and his facts are much as we have them from other sources, but his inferences are different, and unconvincing. It is hard to find as serious a significance in the prince’s public utterances, for instance, as Lange finds, when we remember that he said to the American newspaper correspondent Charles H. Wiegand, “What regimental commander has not made such speeches to his men? That is part of the game of being a soldier. It does not necessarily mean much and should not be taken too seriously. Others have made such speeches and worse, and yet you have never heard of them.”

On the whole, it seems pretty clear from the data which Junker Carl Lange supplies us himself, that he has taken his subject a little too seriously.

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

*The Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference.* By Robert Lansing. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921, pp. 213, \$2.50.) Mr. Lansing’s portraits of the chief personalities of the Paris Conference were well worth reprinting. One regrets only that they are not illustrated by his skillful pencil sketches. He had ample opportunity for observation during the sessions of the Council of Ten, and, if we are to believe his own statements in his previous volume, he was sufficiently distant from the real centre of negotiations to secure something like perspective. He is judicious by nature and his desire that personal differences of opinion shall not affect his estimate is obvious. He has an eye for the picturesque and reproduces admirably the atmosphere of Pichon’s study where the Ten held their sessions. It is certainly curious, however, in view of the number which he attended, that he should have forgotten the order in which the plenipotentiaries were placed; the Italians did not sit with their backs to the windows, between the British and the Japanese, as he places them, but faced Clemenceau on the right of the Japanese. He emphasizes, as we should expect, the varying harshness and sarcasm of Clemenceau and the mercurial traits of Lloyd George. More surprising is his statement that the latter possessed no arts of diplomacy but won his successes

through the excellent advice he received. Some, at least, of the British experts have felt that however good that advice, Mr. Lloyd George rarely followed it. It is interesting to note the high estimate he places upon the intellectual capacity and statesmanlike qualities of Orlando, which Mr. Lansing explains by the Italian premier's experience as a jurist. He appreciates fully the magnetism of Venizelos which brought to Greece more than her delegates asked, and he paints a convincing picture of the statecraft of Paderewski, which unquestionably deserves more emphasis than it has thus far received.

The author is evidently anxious to be fair in his efforts to explain what he regards as President Wilson's failure. He ascribes this in part to his inability "to appreciate at the first that the aims of his foreign colleagues were essentially material". Mr. Lansing is apparently unaware of irrefutable evidence showing that the President knew very definitely before he reached France that Lloyd George and Clemenceau had not been entirely converted. His argument that Mr. Wilson had no plan for a treaty ignores the carefully defined basis which Colonel House had established in October during the armistice negotiations; the President's failure lay not in his lack of a plan but rather in his inability to write that plan fully into the treaties. Mr. Lansing seems also to have forgotten the "Black Book" drafted early in January at the President's command, which contained a clear-cut outline of the American programme, and copies of which were sent to the United States plenipotentiaries. It is unfortunate, too, that he should perpetuate the story current in Paris, according to which the Council of Four was formed purely to satisfy Lloyd George's sense of secretiveness. In reality the Council resulted naturally from Wilson's absence in America, Clemenceau's illness, and the consequent renewal of the guiding committee of the previous autumn, composed of House, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland, and Scotland.* By Allan Forbes. In two volumes. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. 225, 225, \$12.50.) These two volumes, resplendent in binding and title-page which imitate the art of the seventeenth century, have been compiled by the president of the State Street Trust Company of Boston, and constitute at once a contribution to the celebration of the Pilgrim tercentenary and an achievement in publicity worthy of encouragement. The purpose of the work is to give an account, historical and descriptive, of some eighty-four towns in New England (fifty-six of them being in Massachusetts), and of the towns in England, Ireland, and Scotland, somewhat fewer in number, whose names they bear. To these latter the greater part of the text and most of the two hundred and seventy illustrations are devoted. The work is not, however, an encyclopaedia of New England's local history, nor is it a study of migration from the British Isles and of settlement in New England, although it contains

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material which might constitute a modest contribution to such a study. The connection which is assumed between "parent" and "daughter" is sometimes conjectural and it by no means follows that because a town in southern Massachusetts bears the same name as a town in Devon it was founded by people coming from the latter.

The chief value of these volumes lies in the record which they contain of the relations of friendship which have been maintained between British towns and towns of New England. Those who vehemently deny the kinship of the English-speaking peoples will be surprised to learn in what glad and cordial fashion and with what pride this kinship has been asserted, time and again, over many years. Correspondence between town officials, exchanges of gifts and of messages of congratulation and good will, visits of delegations, and the erection of monuments—all these constitute an impressive exhibit of manifestations of friendship.

WALDO G. LELAND.

*The Evolution of Long Island: a Story of Land and Sea.* By Ralph Henry Gabriel, Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. 194, \$2.50.) The author states his problem to be that of tracing the "development of a people as it has been affected, not only by its social and economic, but by its natural surroundings". In the main he confines himself to tracing the influences of environment upon the economic life of the population. This he does clearly and convincingly. The comparatively simple influence of the sea, and the complex influences of the vast continental hinterland are brought out forcefully, even dramatically. The first five chapters—on the geologic upbuilding of the island, the coming of the settlers, the development of agriculture, and the expansion of the economic life of the people until whaling led many of them far out into the world—yield an unusually vivid sense of watching the drama of existence unrolling. The remainder of the book partially sacrifices chronological order, and we have a series of essays on the fisheries, oyster industry, smuggling, water-borne trade, ship-building, railroads and highways (omitting stage-coach routes), the "barrens", and the recent development of the island as a summer playground.

Little is said of the primary and secondary effects of environment upon social and intellectual life, and too little account is taken of the important difference between the east and west ends of the island. This was a fundamental fact, climatically, economically, socially, and, for a considerable period, politically, resulting in two distinct areas of different cultural development. Curiously, the author has not utilized any local town histories in what is an intensive study, largely historical, of a limited area. Had he done so, he would have avoided a number of minor errors, *e.g.*, "Sag" is not Sag Harbor (p. 67) but Sagaponack, quite another place; Sag Harbor was not founded by whalers but for other economic reasons (p. 68); the first "east end" port of entry was estab-



lished in 1668 not 1687 (p. 118); the original settlers of Southampton and Easthampton did not arrive by the ocean but by the bay (p. 23); agricultural not shipping factors determined their location by the ocean (p. 24), each town having its harbor on the bay shore. Also, we may note, the first Navigation Act was not that of 1660 (p. 118); Promised Land is over 100, not 50, miles from New York (p. 88); and Furman's name is twice given as Furnam (p. 187). Owing to bad drawing the Peconic section of the map is misleading. However, Mr. Gabriel has treated a worth-while topic successfully, in a suggestive and interesting book.

J. T. ADAMS.

*Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature.* By Theodore Bolton. (New York, Frederic Fairchild Sherman, 1921, pp. x, 180, \$7.50.) It is as a *catalogue raisonné* rather than as a connected essay that Bolton's book on American miniature painters is intended. As such, it will prove a valuable reference book both for experts in the subject and for those whose occasional interests lead them into this field.

One of the first requirements of such a book is convenient arrangement. The requirement has been most satisfactorily met in this case. The artists are not put in chronological order but are arranged alphabetically, with a uniform disposition of the text concerning each, so that not only the artist but also specific facts about him may be readily found. After the artist's name the essential vital statistics are given, together with a concise indication of the nature of his work, such as "portrait and genre painter", "portrait painter in oils and miniature". Then, following a brief résumé, usually limited to eight or ten lines, of the training and artistic career of the painter, is a list of his known miniatures with their present or most recently known location.

In the foreword to the book, where we find also a definition of miniature painting and a very brief account of its rise, growth, and decline in America, the author sets as *terminus ad quem* for his investigations the date 1850, "when the photograph had already numbered the days of the small portrait". Thus Bolton covers only about a century, but he enumerates something over three hundred miniature painters, native and foreign, working in America.

While recognizing the necessity of brevity and conciseness in a compilation of the nature of this book, one feels that additional criticism and, especially, more bibliographical material might have been given. The illustrations, inserted more or less at random, help to give the book the attractive appearance which we expect in Sherman's publications.

JOHN SHAPLEY.

*Governor Edward Coles.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XV.; Biographical series, vol. I.]

(Springfield, Illinois, Trustees of the Library, 1920, pp. viii, 435.) The editor of the volume under consideration hints rather broadly in the preface that the task which he has performed was imposed upon him by force of circumstances, from which it may be assumed that it was not a part of his original plan to include such a publication in the *Collections*. The document which fills a considerable part of the volume is a reprint of the well-known *Sketch of Edward Coles* by Elihu B. Washburne, which is readily accessible in the original edition. The editor wisely decided, however, to turn to account the opportunity in a measure thrust upon him, by seeking out and publishing all the additional documentary material available concerning the life of Governor Coles. The result is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of an interesting and in many respects remarkable figure in Illinois history. The life of Edward Coles, however, is of more than local interest, for he was one of the most conspicuous of the southern plantation-owners and slave-owners who, holding slavery to be wrong, left their homes, emancipated their negroes, and settled on free soil. He became the second governor of Illinois, and was one of the leaders in the struggle which was waged from 1822 to 1824 over the question whether the state should remain free territory or should admit slavery. In addition to the reprint of Washburne's life of Coles, the volume contains an appendix which includes, among other material, a group of documents pertaining to a suit brought against Governor Coles for political reasons, but based upon his alleged violation of the law in failing to give bonds at the time of freeing his slaves; a number of documents relating to his career as register of the land office at Edwardsville, Illinois; and a series of letters written in 1854-1855 by persons prominent in early Illinois history, concerning his character and political service. The volume measures up to the uniformly high editorial standard already established by the *Illinois Historical Collections*. There is a good index and also a "List of Coles Material Published", in the form of a calendar in which the items are chronologically arranged. There is, however, no table of contents for the volume as a whole, although one would have been desirable, particularly as a guide to the various groups of documents contained in the appendix.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

Ephraim McDowell, "Father of Ovariectomy" and Founder of Abdominal Surgery. With an Appendix on Jane Todd Crawford. By August Schachner, M.D., F.A.C.S. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1921, pp. xviii, 331, \$10.00.) August Schachner has rendered a conspicuous service to American medicine in spending several years of his life in digging out the facts relative to Ephraim McDowell and Jane Crawford, and then placing them on record for our refreshment and for the instruction of the generations to come. McDowell, as Schachner well shows, was not only the father of ovariectomy, but he opened up the whole realm of abdominal surgery as well, declaring from a ripe ex-

perience that "there was no call for the trepidation with which men regarded the peritoneal cavity". One might well say that McDowell opened up the vast new *field* of modern surgical endeavor, while the boon of ether anaesthesia, coming in the forties, a generation later, gave us the *condition* under which our work must be done, and after yet another generation the Lister idea of antisepsis supplied the *method*. Let it be noted that he was successful in ten out of eleven ovarian operations; it took his successors several generations to attain this. It is now 112 years since Mrs. Crawford rode 60 miles on horseback, bumping and bruising her big tumor on the pommel, to undergo in Danville, Kentucky, what was frankly declared to be, and accepted as, an experiment; that backwoods rivulet of trust has swollen to the mighty stream of all that is greatest in modern surgery.

The details of McDowell's and of Mrs. Crawford's lives are delightfully set forth in this most readable book, even including the dramatic attempt of Lawson Tait to discredit our backwoods surgeon and to substitute a fake hero, one Robert Houston, from Glasgow. The photographs of persons, places, and relics are a welcome addition to the text.

We have here an acceptable classic to add to our sparse literature of medical heroes.

HOWARD A. KELLY.

*Memoirs of Mary A. Maverick*, arranged by Mary A. Maverick and her son George Madison Maverick. Edited by Rena Maverick Green. (San Antonio, Texas, Alamo Printing Company, 1921, pp. 136, \$3.50.) Written forty years ago primarily for the author's family, this unpretentious little volume has a far wider appeal. Based for the most part upon notes made by the author and her husband at the time of the events which it chronicles and upon contemporary letters, it has all the freshness and vividness to be expected in a personal narrative of the stirring years from 1838 to 1859, with which it is chiefly concerned; especially when the narrator is a pioneer woman of exceptional mental, physical, and spiritual vigor.

The book presents graphically the hardships of pioneer life: Indian and Mexican warfare; the sufferings of captives; travel in all kinds of weather; housekeeping in adobe, or log houses, sometimes with dirt floors; fights for the ten children's life and health; cholera; fever; death by violence and disease; the agony of women's waiting while their men faced death.

It would be against human nature for the child—of nineteen years—that Mrs. Maverick was when she came into this elemental life not to find and record its brighter side. There was open-handed hospitality and human sympathy; there was fun a-plenty for the group of young American women who soon followed Mrs. Maverick to San Antonio: in the afternoon swimming parties for mothers and babies at the bathhouse on the San Antonio River; in the queer types, native and foreign, in the little

community; in young folks' courtships; in balls and parties. Even when fleeing before the enemy, there were "gay gallops"; there was "great fun" in "decorating our domicile"—a blacksmith shop generously placed at the refugees' disposal. And her description of her husband's brave, cheery letters during his captivity in Mexico in 1842-1843 and of the gay spirits with which the Texans fought the Mexicans at the battle of Salado suggests the A. E. F.

Many of the picturesque figures of early Anglo-Texas are interestingly, sometimes amusingly, portrayed: brilliant "Jack" Hays, for instance, the Ranger captain; Captain Karnes, whose red hair, the Indian squaws thought, must emit heat; President Lamar, "a poet, a polite and brave gentleman and first-rate conversationalist", but a poor dancer.

For the tourist and the student of San Antonio history there is interest and value in the descriptions of old landmarks, as well as in the picture of domestic and community life of fourscore years ago.

Of the illustrations, those of most general interest are those of old San Antonio, especially of the missions, of some buildings which have since disappeared, and of the siege of the Alamo, from a painting by Theodore Gentilz, an early San Antonio artist. The typography, with some unfortunate exceptions, is good. The appendix reprints several personal letters, one group of these reversing the popular account of the origin of the term "maverick", and a eulogy on Samuel Augustus Maverick by Dr. George Cupples, delivered in 1870, shortly after Mr. Maverick's death.

ELIZABETH HOWARD WEST.

*Texas and the Mexican War: a Chronicle of the Winning of the Southwest.* By Nathaniel W. Stephenson. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXIV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. 273.) This book, like the other volumes of the well-known series to which it belongs, is most agreeable both to look at and to handle. Its contents include the history of Texas from 1819 until that republic was annexed by the United States, and close, after the ratification of the treaty of peace with Mexico, with a glance forward. In view of the extent and importance of the rest of the field, too much space has perhaps been given to the early times. Out of 257 pages of text, eighty-six are used to bring us through the battle of San Jacinto, and fourteen more to continue the narrative as far as the recognition of Texas by the United States, while the war with Mexico has been allowed only about seventy. The author had the laudable aim of writing with spirit, and possessed a facile, practised pen. But to combine spirit and accuracy in handling such extremely complex and delicate subjects requires, of course, most thorough study and most carefully revised statements—in short, what off-hand writers sometimes call subtlety; whereas the author, to judge from the volume in hand and his wide range of publications, is not a specialist in this field, and in the present instance was not extremely painstaking. The

result is a pleasing narrative, with some really good points and rather numerous errors. On the political side one observes a marked tendency to present easy views in preference to less simple but sounder ones, and on the military operations of the war with Mexico a serious effort hardly seems to have been made to follow the account that is termed "authoritative" (p. 261). The volume includes an impressionistic "bibliographical note", an index, a map and eleven illustrations. The portrait of Santa Anna (p. 32) is described as "after a photograph", which sounds convincing; but the original of the photograph was really a picture, not the man. Unintentionally, of course, views of the present writer are incorrectly represented.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

*History of the New York Times, 1851-1921.* By Elmer Davis, of the *New York Times* editorial staff. (New York, the *Times*, 1921, pp. xxii, 434, \$2.00.) It was hardly necessary for Mr. Davis, the author of this book, to identify himself on the title-page as a member of the *New York Times* staff. That fact is apparent throughout the 428 pages and impairs the quality of an otherwise interesting and valuable history of a great journal.

The book, which was published incidentally to the twenty-fifth anniversary of possession of the *Times* by Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, partakes too much of the character of a Jubilee Number. There is too much implication by the writer that in his opinion the *New York Times* has always been right and its contemporaries generally wrong. Occasionally, when the reader has reason to believe that he is about to get something vital concerning the policy of the paper and its attitude toward great questions, the author leaves him in the lurch.

Despite these defects the book is a useful contribution to the history of journalism as a political force in America, and it traces the half-century development of a great newspaper which has attained success without stooping to sensationalism. Relevant to that, one of the most interesting things related by Mr. Davis is that the founder of the paper, Henry J. Raymond, and his successors have always considered it essential to have a continuity of policies. After the Civil War three of these policies were those concerning sound money, tariff reform, and the merit system in the civil service. In a chapter on the *Times* and the Tweed Ring there is as clear and comprehensive a summary of New York City's financial and political scandals of the early 70's as anyone interested in such matters would wish to know fifty years afterward. In the chapter on the *Times* and the war of 1914-1918 the author is guilty of grave omission. He does not print the *Times* editorial of September 16, 1918, favoring the consideration of the Austrian proposal for a discussion of peace terms. Perhaps no incident in American journalism has caused more discussion among people not of the journalistic profession concerning a newspaper policy than this editorial. Mr. Davis devotes two and

one-half pages to a discussion of the matter without even an extract from the editorial itself. He says, "If the Editor of the *Times* gave premature expression to that feeling (that the Austrian appeal meant the beginning of the end), it was because he saw further ahead than most people and knew that the appeal meant that peace was near."

*Historic Houses of South Carolina.* By Harriette Kershaw Leiding. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1921, pp. xx, 318, \$10.00.) One who opens this book expecting to find the equal of its pendant, the Huger Smiths' *Dwelling Houses of Charleston*, will be grievously disappointed. That was the unique product of collaboration between a diligent and skeptical searcher of the records, a sensitive artist, a trained architect, and a skilled photographer. This volume has had the benefit of none of these. Instead of conservative and documentary datings there are pleasant romances; instead of competent drawings, sketches sometimes almost childish in their technique. Judge H. A. M. Smith's scholarly articles in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* are drawn on in some instances, but in others traditional statements are relied on by preference.

The Carolina country outside of Charleston has been at once an unknown and a promised land to architects and students of the colonies. This book gives at least a first view of its resources. It must be confessed that these themselves do not equal expectations. There are to be sure a great number of houses more or less old, but few to awaken such enthusiasm as those already known in Charleston itself, or on the James or the Severn. Drayton Hall, indeed, was worthy to be called a palace in its day, and our author informs us of wainscoting from floor to ceiling, but illustrates no interiors and gives exterior photographs much inferior to others already published.

The flamboyant style of the Foreword tends unfortunately to destroy our gusto for the many admirable morsels of old Southern life scattered in the text.

FISKE KIMBALL.

*Since the Civil War.* By Charles Ramsdell Lingley, Professor of History, Dartmouth College. [*The United States*, edited by Professor Max Farrand, vol. III.] (New York, Century Company, 1920, pp. ix, 635, \$2.65.) In his preface Professor Lingley leaves to future historians the effort to "delineate the *spiritual* history of America since the Civil War—the compound of tradition, discontent, aspiration, idealism, materialism, selfishness, and hope that mark the floundering progress of these United States through the last half century". His book is thus essentially a narration, with interpretations of the many successive issues and episodes, and with occasional surveys of economic and political conditions interspersed. The organization of the book is excellent, and the style of presentation clear. The reader is deftly led from one theme to another



and back again — political management, legislation, judicial decisions, labor, capital, transportation, money, commerce, foreign relations, etc.— with a sense that all these matters in a people's life are interlinked, and that while public exigencies may bring one or another phase of activity into the focus of attention, all of them are synchronous and continuous. The few character-sketches are well done, and the fairly numerous maps and diagrams are well conceived and executed. In general, whatever the book touches it treats soundly and adequately for its purpose as a college text-book. By comparison with certain of its rivals it has an old-fashioned flavor in that it follows long-approved practice rather than to seek innovation whether in matter or manner. It is silent, for example, upon education, literature, and sport, and brief upon immigration and urbanization. The theme of general readjustments in the South is one of the few which the book fails to treat in systematic manner; for its brief allusions in these premises are scattered, and neither the table of contents nor the index gives aid in the discovery of them. The index, in fact, is regrettable amateurish.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

*Roosevelt in the Bad Lands.* By Hermann Hagedorn. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921, pp. xxvi, 491, \$5.00.) Mr. Hagedorn has made a good beginning in a work that will run many years before it is completed, and will in the end reveal the true outlines of a generation of American life. He has enlarged our knowledge of Theodore Roosevelt. His volume is in valued contrast to those of many of the Roosevelt biographers, who have taken their cue from the Roosevelt letters or autobiography, and have retold a story that is already conventionalized. They have exuded emotion, pro or con; but too many have neither added by their industry to the known facts, nor sifted new truths from the mass of myth and legend by their criticism. The conflict of testimony about Roosevelt extends beyond his acts to the interpretation of even the simplest of them. There is an untold story of absorbing critical interest in the history of the Ananias Club, and hardly an episode in his long career has been adequately described. It is no longer useful to write arguments or to express opinions upon him; what is needed is diligent collection of new material and relentless criticism of the old.

It has clearly been a labor of love for Mr. Hagedorn to trail Colonel Roosevelt through his Dakota haunts of 1883-1887. The testimony of survivors has been taken, and is here used to enrich the extracts from journals and family letters which now first see the light. The volume shows how Roosevelt bore himself on the raw frontier, makes him a real and vital character, and rescues from near oblivion an era in western history. The cow country has been described in fragments by various writers, but no one has hitherto been able to use it as background for a character that was both literate and vocal. Mr. Hagedorn has been successful in his research and judicious in his interpretations. If the Roose-



vult Memorial Association, for whom he has produced the volume, can continue its publications as here begun, it will at once serve well the need of the historian and give to the army of Americans who love the memory of the Colonel a reasoned and substantial ground for their devotion.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*The American Spirit in Education: a Chronicle of Great Teachers.* By Edwin E. Slosson. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXIII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. x, 309.) This book bears the same title as a bulletin of the Bureau of Education written by Dr. C. R. Mann three years ago. Here the similarity ceases, however, except perhaps for the admiration of both authors for Benjamin Franklin as one of the greatest prophets in American education. To Dr. Mann the American spirit in education has been the development of practical, industrial education for the masses. To the author of this book it has been the development of free, public education until now "in a large part of the country a youth of sufficient ability to profit by the opportunity can get any education he needs, up to the highest professional training, without spending any money other than what he can make by his own exertions during his course", a statement which would not be universally agreed to.

With this background the author has really attempted a short history of American education, with especial emphasis on higher education, which occupies nearly one-half of the book. This fact appears from the chapters which deal successively with the Schools of the Colonies, the Colonial College, Franklin and Practical Education, Jefferson and State Education, Washington and National Education, Horace Mann, DeWitt Clinton, the Westward Movement, the State University, Catholic Education, Technical Education, the Morrill Act, Colleges for Women, the New Education and the University of Today.

There are a few conspicuous weaknesses in the book. For example, with no introduction, the reader is left to discover the author's purpose in writing the book as the story unfolds. There is also an undue emphasis placed on college and university education as compared to other fields, with consequent neglect or very inadequate treatment of secondary education, elementary education west of the Alleghenies, negro education, the training of teachers, and professional education. The chapter on Catholic education is longer than the compass of the book warrants. Of chief importance, however, is the author's very unsatisfactory attempt to describe modern educational tendencies in his chapter on the "New Education", which he declares to be characterized by broadness in the course of study, natural development of the pupil's mental powers, and the postponement of each course to such time as students are old enough to appreciate its usefulness. A few pages on these topics by no means satisfies the curiosity of readers who naturally look for a keen analysis of the present educational system both from the point of view of pedagogical method and of educational organization. The chapter on the

University of Today is better but by no means so penetrating as the observations of E. E. Holme, the Australian professor, in his recent book on the *American University*.

The book is therefore of traditional type but nevertheless a delightful introduction to the subject, largely woven about the heroic efforts of a number of American educational prophets.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

*The Age of Invention: a Chronicle of Mechanical Conquest.* By Holland Thompson. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXVII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. xii, 267.) The author of *The Age of Invention* frankly limits himself to outlining the personalities of some of the most conspicuous American inventors and indicating the significance of their achievements. In the first intent he has fairly succeeded, in the second he has clearly failed. The reasons for failure are not without interest. From one angle there is the attempt to combine in one volume the divergent pleasures of biographer and philosopher. Here the biographer overshadows his rival. From another is the lack of unity resulting from incomplete organization. This might have been obviated in part by grouping inventions according to types of power such as horse, steam, and electricity, or again initial purpose of use, such as agriculture; industry, manufacture, and commerce; communication. Unity might also have been increased by adding, to the surveys of 1790 and 1860, others for 1830, 1900 and 1914. A general summary at the end of the volume would have served the same purpose. From still another angle, and the most important, there is a lack of comprehension of the relation of the subject to the world at large. Nowhere is there more than surface consideration of the meaning of this Age of Invention. What fascinating possibilities that title opens up. What is the Age of Invention doing to our own time? What has it done to the agricultural, social, economic, political, religious, and other interests of civilization, the world that our grandfathers and great-grandfathers knew? Whither is it driving us? Will a study of it throw any light on the struggle of the materialistic forces of our modern world with the more purely spiritual and cultural ones? Is there any truth to the suspicion that the conditions which brought on the recent world war were due very largely to the effects of a too prolonged draught of the Age of Invention, with too little spiritual and cultural antitoxin to offset it? Does a study of the development of invention suggest any form of control, other than the present rules of the Patent Office? Might it not also be well to consider the possible social and economic effects—to take only two influences of an invention—before loosing it upon an unsuspecting public?

The volume is not without errors of fact and omission. Selecting one section, pp. 112-118, the reviewer notices the following. The English and the Scotch were not the first to attempt to build machines to cut grain. The Romans, and it seems probable the Carthaginians, had precedence in

this matter. Patrick Bell's first reaping machine was made and operated in 1827 not 1826. One, rather than four, of his machines came to America. The population of Chicago in 1847 was not 10,000 but over 16,000. C. H. McCormick manufactured 800 reapers instead of 500 in 1848. In the discussion of plows, the iron plow of Stephen McCormick of Fauquier County, Virginia, invented in 1816, patented in 1819, and widely used for many years in Virginia and neighboring states, should not be omitted.

H. A. KELLAR.

*Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War against Germany.* By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Volume II. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1921, pp. 376, \$4.00.) The first volume of this memorial, reviewed in these pages in April, 1921, contained the record of Harvard men who lost their lives prior to the declaration of war by the United States. The second volume carries the record through the first year of American participation. Fifty-one men are here commemorated; all but five, four of whom were British and the other Cuban, were American citizens, yet exactly a third of them had found a way of entering into the war, through British or French service, before the United States followed their example on April 6, 1917. As Philip Comfort Starr, of the class of 1914, descendant in the eighth generation of Comfort Starr of the class of 1647, wrote from Canada where he had gone to enlist in the early summer of 1916, "I knew I had to go to make myself better. . . . When your job comes up, keeps pounding at the door for over a year, you might as well be business-like and go and do it. . . . I'll have the chance to do the unselfish thing for once."

Twenty-three of the fifty-one met death before the enemy; thirteen were decorated or cited in orders; thirteen were aviators, of whom eight were killed in accidents. Nearly all branches of the service are here represented, including the navy, the merchant marine, and the Y. M. C. A., and many famous organizations—the Coldstream Guards, the Black Watch, the Grenadier Guards, the Lafayette Escadrille.

The historical value of this volume is not inconsiderable. With his customary skill and sureness of touch the editor has selected material, chiefly extracts from private letters, which not only reveals, as in a portrait, the subjects of the memoirs, but which casts a spot-light on what was going on about them. Thus we have a series of scenes and impressions, from many points of view, of the war as it was waged in many places and at various times.

W. G. L.

*Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1846-1906.* Edited by Mary Thacher Higginson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921, pp. iii, 358, \$4.00.) "Miscellaneous Gleanings"—the phrase used by the editor to characterize one particular section of this

compilation—might well have been chosen as the title of the book. Colonel Higginson was a very prolific writer, much given to reminiscence. His journals and letters had already been drawn on heavily for *Cheerful Yesterdays*, *Old Cambridge*, and *Contemporaries*. To the readers of these and of divers other books of narrative and characterization which came from his hand this slender volume will bring many a pleasant anecdote and observation, but little of substantial importance. To the younger generation of readers who have not known Colonel Higginson in person or through his writings, this book will give an inadequate presentment of the man. The editing is too casual. A single prefatory page of chronology and a grouping of these hundreds of fragments according to their bearing upon the causes in which he was interested would have left a far stronger impression of this man of light and leading.

In Colonel Higginson's personality, as these selections from his writings clearly show, there were combined qualities rarely found together—the zeal and fearlessness of the radical reformer championing the abolition of slavery, woman suffrage, and freedom of religious thought and teaching, combined with the no less characteristic gentleness of the lover of nature, and the urbanity of the cultured man of letters. He “knew everybody” among the forward-looking leaders of two generations. He has left a charming account of the marriage of Lucy Stone, at which he officiated. He spoke words of intimate appreciation at the funeral of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe. At the age of thirty-four he was already making such discerning appraisals of his contemporaries as these (p. 93):

Mr. Emerson is bounteous and gracious, but thin, dry, angular, in intercourse as in person. Garrison is the only solid moral reality I have ever seen incarnate, the only man who *would do to tie to*, as they say out West; and he is fresher and firmer every day, but wanting in intellectual culture and variety. Wendell Phillips is always graceful and gay, but inwardly sad, under that bright surface. Whittier is the simplest and truest of men, beautiful at home, but without fluency of expression, and with rather an excess of restraint. . . . Theodore Parker is wonderfully learned in books; and given to monologue, though very agreeable and various it is, still egotistical, dogmatic, bitter often, and showing marked intellectual limitations.

The book abounds in literary reminiscences and anecdotes of his contacts with American and European men of eminence in literature and art. His relations with *Atlantic* editors are summed up thus:

Fields's taste is very good and far less crotchety than Lowell's, who strained at gnats and swallowed camels, and Fields is always casting about for good things, while Lowell is rather disposed to sit still and let them come. It was a torment to deal with Lowell and it is a real pleasure with Fields (p. 111).

In the chapter, *Army Life and Camp Drill*, the most interesting passages relate to the first regiment recruited from the freed slaves, the First South Carolina Volunteers, of which Higginson became the colonel, and from which he secured excellent drill results and devoted loyalty.

## COMMUNICATION

### CALVIN AND UNBAPTIZED CHILDREN

*The Managing Editor:*

*Dear Sir:* Students of church history who are more expert in respect to Calvin than I am may have protested to you already against the unjust statement by your reviewer of Dr. Preserved Smith's *Age of the Reformation* in your July issue, p. 765: "It remained for Calvin to condemn them [unbaptized children] to the awful and unrelenting terrors of eternal fire." Calvin shifted salvation, both for children and for adults, from baptism to the eternal purpose of God. As to the possible salvation of those who died in infancy, an interesting discussion of his views, with quotation of the pertinent passages, may be found in an article by Professor Shields on "The Doctrine of Calvin concerning Infant Salvation", in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, I. 634-651.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER.

DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,  
MADISON, N. J.,  
Dec. 7, 1921.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

In accordance with the terms of a bequest of the late George L. Beer, of New York City, the American Historical Association announces the George Louis Beer Prize in European International History. The prize, \$250, will be awarded annually for the best work upon "any phase of European International History since 1895". The competition is limited to citizens of the United States and to works submitted for the purpose. A work may be submitted in either manuscript or print. It should not exceed in length 50,000 words of text, with the additional necessary notes, bibliography, appendixes, etc.

A work submitted in competition for the Adams Prize may at the same time, if its subject meets the requirements, be submitted for the George Louis Beer Prize; but no work that shall have been so submitted for both prizes will be admitted to the competition for the Beer Prize in any subsequent year.

In making the award the committee in charge will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. The prize is designed especially to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Only works in the English language will receive consideration.

Inquiries concerning the prize should be addressed to the Chairman of the Committee or to the Secretary of the American Historical Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

All proofs of Miss Griffin's annual bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1919*, have now been passed, and it is hoped that it will before long emerge from the Government Printing Office, as a supplemental volume to the *Annual Report* for 1919. The Austin papers (papers of Moses and Stephen F. Austin), which will constitute the secondary volumes of that and some subsequent years, are in type to the extent of about one-half; they prove to be of greater extent than was expected when their publication was undertaken.

The Agricultural History Society has recently elected Dr. Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Agricultural Library, Chicago, its president; Mr. O. C. Stine and Mr. N. A. Olsen of the Department of Agriculture, vice-president and secretary-treasurer, respectively. The executive committee is to consist, in addition to the above, of the two ex-presidents, Dr. Rodney H. True and Mr. Lyman Carrier, and of two elected members, Messrs. G. K. Holmes of the Department of Agriculture, and F. K. Lewton of the National Museum.

## PERSONAL

Viscount Bryce, O. M., historian, publicist, ambassador, died suddenly on January 22, at the age of eighty-four, after an old age of remarkable vigor and activity; they continued indeed to the last day of his life. Born in Belfast in 1838 and educated at Glasgow and Oxford, he won distinction at a very early age by the publication in 1864 of *The Holy Roman Empire*, which for nearly sixty years has maintained high regard as a standard exposition of its subject, lucid, suggestive, broad in view, sound in scholarship. From 1870 to 1893 he was regius professor of the civil law at Oxford, from 1880 to 1907 a conspicuous Liberal member of Parliament, holding in the latter part of that period various cabinet offices. His collected *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* (1901), his *Studies in Contemporary Biography* (1903), and his books on South Africa and South America show the breadth and variety of the intellectual interests which he meantime and always maintained. In 1888 he published *The American Commonwealth*, the greatest of his works and the most important book ever written about the United States, in which, with remarkable accuracy, sympathy, and insight, he treated of our political institutions in their relation to the history, character, and habits of the American people. His most recent work, *Modern Democracies* (1921), was in a sense an expansion of the same general theme. From 1907 to 1913 he was British ambassador in Washington. The appointment was at first criticized in England, as of one not belonging to the conventional diplomatic service; but if ever any ambassador approached more closely to the ideals of that office set forth in Mr. Jusserand's article on preceding pages, history does not record the instance, and certainly Mr. Bryce, ambassador to the American people, did more, in those six years, than all preceding representatives of Great Britain taken together had done, to bring that people to a state of mind toward Great Britain admitting of willing co-operation in warfare at a vital moment. For several years Lord Bryce was president of the British Academy, and from 1906 to 1922 he was the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association.

Such a chronicle of offices and achievements, however, gives no adequate notion of the man and of his relation to American historical scholars. An assiduous traveller, tireless in walking, in questioning, and in social converse, he knew hundreds of Americans, and was the hearty and obliging friend of all; but to those of the historical fraternity his attitude was one of peculiar geniality and helpfulness. His wisdom and public spirit were always at their service. In conversation with them he poured out the astonishing treasures of his knowledge, while his insatiable desire for information prevented him from ever monopolizing the talk. His fresh and youthful spirit kept him always in sympathy with younger scholars, and toward all such he was unwearied in acts of thoughtful kindness.

Dr. Williston Walker, who for the last two years had been a member



of the Board of Editors of this journal, died at New Haven on March 9, at the age of sixty-one. From 1889 to 1901 he was associate professor and professor in the Hartford Theological Seminary; since 1901 he had been professor of ecclesiastical history, and in recent years also provost, in Yale University; and for ten years he was president of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. His historical works included *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (1893), *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* (1894), a volume on *The Reformation* (1900), one on John Calvin (1906) in the series of *Heroes of the Reformation*, and other biographical productions. He was a man of great learning and administrative capacity but made no display of either, so that what was most obvious in intercourse with him was his quiet modesty and constant kindness. His official connection with this journal was unhappily brief, but was marked by great helpfulness.

Dr. Alfred Cauchie, who since 1893 had been professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Louvain, died in Rome on February 10, at the age of sixty-one, as the result of a distressing street accident. The first of his publications consisted of two volumes on *La Querelle des Investitures* in the two Belgian dioceses (1890-1891). But soon his attention was turned to research in Roman and Neapolitan archives, concerning the history of the Belgian provinces in the sixteenth, and later in the seventeenth century. He warmly advocated, from 1895 on, the foundation of a Belgian school of historical studies in Rome, and at the time of his death was in charge of the Belgian Institute there. He and another Louvain professor founded in 1900 the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, and from that time to the outbreak of the war his reputation rested mainly upon the conduct of that admirable journal and upon the training of many distinguished students of ecclesiastical history, including an important number of young Americans. On occasion of the German outbreak against Louvain he was carried away as a hostage, and subjected to many dangers and hardships. He was a prominent member of the Belgian Academy and of the Commission Royale d'Histoire, and was a man of high character and many endearing qualities.

Professor Ernst Daenell of Münster, formerly of Kiel, made many friends in America during his periods of residence as exchange professor at Chicago, in 1908, and as Kaiser Wilhelm professor at Columbia University in 1910-1911, and there will be general regret at the news of his death, which occurred shortly before last Christmas, in his fiftieth year. His earlier devotion had been to Hanseatic history, culminating in his *Die Blütezeit der Deutschen Hanse* (1906). After that, and down to the time of the war, his main interest was in American history. His *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, first published in 1907, was brought out in a new and enlarged edition in 1913, and was one of the most intelligent presentations of our history available in German. He also published *Die Spanier in Nordamerika von 1513 bis 1824* (1911).

Gerhard Seeliger, professor in the University of Leipzig, died November 24, at the age of sixty-one. From 1895 to 1903 he was professor of the sciences auxiliary to history, and from 1903 of medieval history. His earlier publications related to the capitularies of the Carolingian monarchs, those of his later years to the institutional history of medieval Germany. In these last the most conspicuous was his *Politische und Soziale Bedeutung der Grundherrschaft* (1903). He was from the time of its foundation in 1898 the principal editor of the *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*.

Professor Herbert C. Bell of Bowdoin College sails for Europe in April, intending to spend a year's leave of absence in historical researches in London. Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth College, having leave of absence from February on, spends the months from March to September similarly in London. Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard has leave of absence for the same semester and will spend the time in Europe.

Professor Charles Cestre of the University of Paris delivered the lectures upon the George Slocum Bennett Foundation at Wesleyan University during February. His subject was *The Contribution of France to the Universal Ideals of Mankind*.

Professor Preserved Smith is lecturing in modern European history at Cornell University during the second semester of the present college year.

Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington sails for Paris in April, to complete his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Paris Archives*.

Professor William K. Boyd of Trinity College, Durham, is spending this year at the University of Pennsylvania, as Harrison research fellow.

Professor H. W. Cordell has been made head of the department of history and economics in the State College of Washington at Pullman.

Dr. William A. Morris has been promoted from the rank of associate professor to that of professor of English history in the University of California.

Mr. C. R. Fay, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, has been appointed professor of economic history in the University of Toronto.

#### GENERAL

In the January number of the *Historical Outlook* E. McK. Eriksson of the State University of Iowa describes the League of Nations at Work, and Professor K. S. Latourette discusses Chinese History as a Field of Research. In the February number Dr. George F. Zook of the United States Bureau of Education discusses Higher Education and the Training for Citizenship. The February number contains also the report on the

Study of Civics, made by a committee of which Professor William B. Munro was chairman to the Pittsburgh meeting of the American Political Science Association, December 27, 1921, and discussed but not adopted. In the March number are a report, by Dr. D. C. Knowlton, of the St. Louis meeting of the American Historical Association, and the papers presented in the conference at St. Louis upon desirable adjustments between history and the other social studies in elementary and secondary schools.

*Die Struktur der Weltgeschichte: Philosophische Grundlegung zu einer jeden Geschichtsphilosophie* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921, pp. viii, 378), by T. L. Haering, combats Spengler's theories. A translation of Spengler, *The Decline of Western Civilization*, is announced by the Princeton University Press.

A complete list of contributors to the series of volumes called *Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* has been received in America. Each of the following scholars is to contribute one or more volumes on the economic history of the country mentioned: Professors Baasch of Freiburg, Holland; Bächtold of Basel, Switzerland; Brodnitz of Halle, England and also Germany; Bull of Christiania, Norway; Doren of Leipzig, Italy; Gras of Minnesota, the United States; Heckscher of Stockholm, Sweden; Kaser of Graz, Austria; Koetzsche of Leipzig, the Middle Ages; Nielsen of Copenhagen, Denmark; Oertel of Leipzig, antiquity; Preyer of Königsberg, Russia; and Wolters of Marburg, France. The first volume, on the *Economic History of England* (in German), appeared in 1918, and the volume on the *General Economic History of the Middle Ages* is now in the press. The editor of the series is Professor Georg Brodnitz, who, like a true leader, has been the first to bring out his contribution—on England—using in its preparation some original sources, and the best and latest monographs and articles. If all the volumes are as scholarly and readable as this one, the success of the series is assured. A generation ago Inama-Sternegg remarked that we had no universal economic history. It may be that we shall never have one, but such a series as the *Handbuch*, making available the results of scholarly work in the various fields, takes a good step in that direction.

A skilful presentation in very brief compass is furnished by Hans Achelis in *Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1921, pp. xi, 236).

A suggestive discussion of the spirit of historical writing in Germany is Georg von Below's *Die Parteiamtliche Neue Geschichtsauffassung: ein Beitrag zur Frage der Historischen Objektivität* (Langensalza, Beyer, 1920, pp. 86).

The eight lectures delivered at the Institute of Politics at Williams-town in August, 1921, by Viscount Bryce have been brought out by Macmillan in a volume entitled *International Relations*. Lord Bryce's in-

augural lecture of the Sir George Watson Chair of American History, Literature, and Institutions, delivered at the Mansion House, London, on June 27, 1921, has been brought out in this country by the same publishers. It bears the title *The Study of American History*.

The Grotius Society is publishing in pamphlets of moderate cost a series of texts for students of international relations (London, Sweet and Maxwell), of which no. 1 is the appropriate chapters of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*, no. 2 a portion of Sully's *Memoirs* setting forth the Grand Design of Henry IV., while later numbers, yet to be published, will include portions of Grotius *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, selections from St. Pierre, Bentham, Kant, etc. All are provided with introductory commentaries.

Professor Ephraim Emerton's *Learning and Living: Academic Essays* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. 325) contains nine essays admirable for old-fashioned wisdom, often humorously and often very cogently expressed, of which two, that on the Academic Study of History and that on the Place of History in Theological Study, may be especially commended to teachers of history and to serious and thoughtful students.

Macmillan publishes, in three volumes, a fifth edition, rewritten, of Westermarck's standard *History of Marriage*.

In *Angewandte Geschichte* (Berlin, Gruyter, 1920, pp. 233) Freiherr von Freytag-Loringhoven has collected a series of studies on the great turning-points of history. The same author has published *Feldherrngrosse, vom Denken und Handeln hervorragender Heerführer* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. 209), an essay on the great military leaders of history with chief emphasis on the period of Frederick the Great and Napoleon.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* contains a paper by Rev. Dr. Victor Carrière on La Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France, one by Rev. Dr. Thomas P. Phelan on Catholic Patriotism in Revolutionary Days, and one by Rev. Dr. Charles L. Souvay, C. M., on the Society of St. Vincent de Paul as an Agency of Reconstruction.

Dr. W. T. Whitley's valuable *Baptist Bibliography* (London, Kingsgate Press) is now completed by the issue of volume II., 1777-1837, with the inclusion of some addenda dating from 1613 down. There are four indexes.

The October number of the *Journal of Negro History* contains a monographic study, by Henderson H. Donald, of the Negro Migration of 1916-1918, a movement of negro population to the industrial centres of the North and West, far surpassing in volume all other migrations of the race in America. The author studies in particular the causes and effects of the migration, but he also investigates the source, volume, composition, and destination of the migrants, and presents the results of an examination of the statistics of 1920. In the January number are found the following articles: Slave Society on the Southern Plantation, by Frances L.

Hunter; the Evolution of the Negro Baptist Church, by W. H. Brooks; Early Negro Education in West Virginia, by C. G. Woodson; and First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia, by J. W. Cromwell. In the section of Documents appears the Experience of a Georgia Peon: My Escape from Bondage.

*A History of European and American Sculpture from the Early Christian Period to the Present Day*, in two volumes, by Chandler R. Post, is from the Harvard University Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Troeltsch, *Der Historische Entwicklungsbegriff in der Modernen Geistes- und Lebensphilosophie*, III. (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXV. 3); J. Volkelt, *Die Grundbegriffe in Spengler's Geschichtsphilosophie* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XX.); H. E. Barnes, *The Relation of Geography to the Writing and Interpretation of History* (*Journal of Geography*, December); C. C. Tansill, *Termination of War by Mere Cessation of Hostilities* (*Law Quarterly Review*, January).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: O. Gruppe, *Bericht über die Literatur zur Antiken Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte aus den Jahren 1906-1917* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXXVI.); M. Fluss, *Bericht über die Literatur zur Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Tiberius bis auf Diocletian, aus den Jahren 1894-1913* (*id.*, CLXXXIX.); *Bibliography of Books and Articles on Jewish History, 1914-1921* (*Revue des Études Juives*, April-June).

Professor V. Scheil has published an important *Recueil de Lois Assyriennes* (Paris, Geuthner, 1921, pp. 125), which includes not only the Assyrian text but also a French translation and index. It throws much light upon the manners and customs of ancient Mesopotamia.

*Die Altpersische Religion und das Judentum* (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1920, pp. viii, 240), by J. Scheftelowitz, develops the many similarities between the two religions but regards them as parallel phenomena rather than borrowings. C. Clemen, already well known for his *Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae*, has published *Die Griechischen und Lateinischen Nachrichten über die Persische Religion* (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1920, pp. viii, 232).

*Das Griechentum und seine Weltmission* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1921, pp. 187), by Freiherr von Bissing, is a thoroughgoing and competent presentation of the Greek contribution to the history of civilization.

In the *Skrifter* of the Christiania Society of Sciences for 1919 (Christiania, 1920, Dybwad) Professor S. Eitrem presents the third series (pp. 202) of his remarkable *Beiträge zur Griechischen Religionsgeschichte*, dealing with processions and sacrifices, Aeneas and the Caucones, the mythical founders of Greek colonies, and other topics.

*Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. vi, 226) is a posthumously published work of Diedrich Fimmen, the first part being a new edition of the author's *Zeit und Dauer der Kretisch-Mykenischen Kultur* (1909). The concluding chapter was written by G. Karo.

Ernest Babelon, the author of the well known *Traité des Monnaies*, gives in *Les Monnaies Grecques: Aperçu Historique* (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 160) a condensed but very illuminating account of one portion of his subject.

Professor P. N. Ure of University College, Reading, has put forth a volume on the *Origin of Tyranny* (Cambridge University Press, pp. xii, 374, and 46 illustrations), tracing the rise of the Greek tyrants of the seventh and sixth centuries to the political possibilities involved in the invention and prevalence of coinage.

Professor A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan has brought out through the Macmillan Company *A History of Rome* to 565 A. D.

Eugen Täubler is the author of *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Decemvirats und der Zwölftafeln* (Berlin, Ebering, 1921, pp. ix, 140), a monograph on the evolution of the Decemvirate in the light of the Twelve Tables.

A critical study of the sources of Josephus is published by Wilhelm Weber under the title *Josephus und Vespasian; Untersuchungen zu dem Jüdischen Krieg des Flavius Josephus* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1921, pp. viii, 287). He reconstructs the original source and gives a minute account of the operations of the Flavii in the east.

Two studies of Roman Egypt have appeared. A. B. Schwarz in *Die Oeffentliche und Private Urkunde im Römischen Aegypten: Studien zum Hellenistischen Privatrecht* (1920, pp. 310) has made a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the sources of law in the pre-Roman as well as the Roman period. T. Reinach in *Un Code Fiscal de l'Égypte Romaine: le Gnomon de l'Idiologue* (Paris, Sirey, 1920-1921, pp. 187) gives the text, translation into French, and a full commentary on the papyrus manuscript.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. De Morgan, *De l'Influence Asiatique sur l'Afrique à l'Origine de la Civilisation Égyptienne*, I. (*L'Anthropologie*, XXXI.); A. T. Olmstead, *Shalmaneser III. and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power* (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLI.); W. F. Albright, *A Revision of Early Assyrian and Middle Babylonian Chronology* (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, XVIII.); A. T. Olmstead, *The Fall and Rise of Babylon* (*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January); C. L. Woolley, *La Phénicie et les Peuples Égéens* (Syria, II.); J. L. Heiberg, *Les Sciences Grecques et leur Transmission*, I. *Splendeur et Décadence de la Science Grecque* (*Scientia*, January); R. Herzog, *Nikias und Xenophon von Kos: Zwei Charakterköpfe aus der Griechisch-Römischen Geschichte* (*Historische Zeitschrift*,

CXXV. 2); F. Behn, *Die Schiffe der Etrusken* (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, XXXIV.); G. F. Moore, *Christian Writers on Judaism* (Harvard Theological Review, July).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General reviews: H. von Soden, *Die Erforschung der Vornicänischen Kirchengeschichte seit 1914* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXXIX.); H. Leitzman, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XX.).

The purpose, sources, and historical value of the Acts of the Apostles comprise the subjects dealt with in A. Wikenhauser's *Die Apostelgeschichte und ihr Geschichtswert* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1921, pp. xviii, 440). An extensive bibliography is included.

C. Guignebert is the author of *Le Christianisme Antique* (Paris, Flammarion, 1920, pp. 270), a masterly study of Christianity and its social environment.

In *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXIX. 3-4, Father Hippolyte Delehaye publishes the Passion of St. Felix of Thibiuca, and examines the mutual relations of the stories of Cyprian of Antioch and Cyprian of Carthage. In another article Father Paul Peeters prints the Georgian version of the Autobiography of Dionysius the Areopagite, and discusses the order of the versions—in his view Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian.

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Cambridge University Press announces that the long-awaited third volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* is to appear at once.

Students of medieval things will be grateful for Dr. Reginald Lane Poole's authoritative paper on *The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages*, published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press.

The third edition of Georg Gropp's *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1921, pp. viii, 369) is briefer, but very much better in arrangement than the preceding ones, and has much new material.

Father Hippolyte Delehaye's excellent little book on the history of the Bollandists, of their *Acta Sanctorum*, and of their other literary labors, a model of commemorative statement concerning their three centuries of famous labors in scholarship, was reviewed from the French original in a previous volume (XXV. 742); students of history, especially those who are interested in the history of learning, will be glad to possess the excellent English translation now put forth by the Princeton University Press, *The Work of the Bollandists through Three Centuries, 1615-1915* (pp. 269, \$2.50).

A good additional source-book (Caesar, Tacitus, Ammianus, Gregory of Tours, Procopius, Gildas, Paulus Diaconus, etc.) is Dr. Johannes Bühler's *Die Germanen in der Völkerwanderung* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag).



*Histoire Sommaire de la Littérature Méridionale au Moyen Age* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. ix, 274), by Joseph Anglade, furnishes the first comprehensive manual to be published in France and brings together the results of previous study into a general survey of this important period of literary history.

In *Richard von Cluny, seine Chronik und sein Kloster in den Anfängen der Kirchenspaltung von 1159: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anschauungen von Kardinalkolleg und Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Ebering, 1921, pp. 173), Dr. Ingeborg Schnack has made a detailed and exhaustive study of the subject, presenting an abundance of documentary material.

Erich W. Meyer, in *Staatstheorien Papst Innocenz III.* (Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1920), attempts a systematic organization of the political theories of Innocent, dealing with them without reference to the immediate circumstances in which each theory was developed.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Schrörs, *Das Charakterbild des Heiligen Benedikt von Nursia und seine Quellen* (*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1921, 2); T. F. Tout, *The Study of Medieval Chronicles* (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, January); M. Feraud, *Origines de Justices Féodales* (*Le Moyen Age*, January–April); A. P. Evans, *The Problem of Control in Medieval Industry* (*Political Science Quarterly*, December); M. Viller, *La Question de l'Union des Églises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le Concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence, 1274–1438*, concl. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January); J. Huyzinga, *La Valeur Politique et Militaire des Idées de Chevalerie à la Fin du Moyen Age* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXXV. 2).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: F. Vigener, *Literaturbericht zur Geschichte des Neueren Katholizismus*, II. (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXV. 1).

*La Question d'Occident: les Pays d'Entre-deux de 843 à 1921* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1921, pp. 218), by Professor L. Leclère of Brussels, is a study of the historical geography, military, political, and diplomatic history of the middle region set apart by the Treaty of Verdun. A recently published *Geschichte Elsass-Lothringens* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1920) is by K. Stählin.

The eighth edition of Édouard Driault's *La Question d'Orient depuis ses Origines jusqu'à la Paix de Sèvres*, 1920 (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. xv, 479) has been published. It not only brings the work down to the Treaty of Sèvres but makes needed changes in the whole text.

The chief events in the relations between England and Germany are set forth by G. von Schoch in *Die Politischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und England vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zum Jahre*

1815 (Bonn, Schroeder, 1921, pp. viii, 282), with the conclusion that the influence of England has been disadvantageous to Germany. A study of Franco-German relations is published by René Lote under the title *Les Relations Franco-Allemandes* (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. xvi, 220); with this may be compared Professor T. F. Tout's *France and England: their Relations in the Middle Ages and Now* (Manchester University).

The Oxford University Press is about to issue the fourth volume, 1519-1521, of the *Letters of Erasmus*, ed. P. S. and H. M. Allen.

Dr. Paul Kalkoff's *Das Wormser Edikt und die Erlasse des Reichsregiments und einzelner Reichsfürsten* (Munich, R. Oldenbourg, pp. x, 132) is a preliminary to his larger and more recent *Der Wormser Reichstag von 1521* (*ibid.*, pp. viii, 436), in which the whole history of the personal and party developments is set forth. Another important contribution to Reformation history is Dr. Arnold O. Meyer's *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation aus Schlesiischen Quellen* (*ibid.*, pp. xiv, 170).

Professor Heinrich Sieveking has published *Grundzüge der Neueren Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. iv, 110), which compresses a great deal of economic history into very small compass. Professor Georg von Below's *Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte: eine Einführung in die Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920, pp. xx, 711) is a collection of essays in economic history.

Two substantial and authoritative volumes, both relating to the last half of the seventeenth century, have within a year or so been added to the great collaborated history of the Jesuits, the sixth volume of Father Antonio Astrain's *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid, Adm. de Razon y Fe, pp. xii, 890), and the third of Father Bernhard Duhr's *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge* (Regensburg, Manz, pp. xii, 924).

A description of the legal status of the peasants in the countries of Europe has been published by Henry Sée under the title *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Régime Agraire en Europe aux XVIII. et XIX. Siècles* (Paris, Giard, 1921, pp. 276). The volume is clear and trustworthy, and fills a distinct gap.

The memoirs of Sir Henry Elliot of which we spoke in a former number are, it seems, to be entitled *Some Revolutions, and other Diplomatic Experiences* (London, Murray); the reminiscences relate to missions to Naples, 1859-1862, to Greece, 1862, and to Constantinople, 1867.

Freiherr von Schoen, formerly secretary of state and ambassador to France, and earlier to Russia, has contributed some material of value to pre-war history in *Erlebtes: Beiträge zur Politischen Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, pp. 227).

*La Dernière Ambassade de France à Vienne* (Paris, Plon, 1921) is a

volume of memoirs by A. Dumaine, the last ambassador, which brings out some hitherto unknown facts.

*The Struggle for Power in Europe, 1917-1921: an Outline Economic and Political Survey of the Central States and Russia*, by Leslie H. Guest, is from the press of Doran.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Bourgeois, *L'Alliance de Bonaparte et de Paul I<sup>er</sup>* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); C. Dupuis, *Les Deux Saintes-Alliances, 1815-1919* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXV. 2); G. Lacour-Gayet, *L'Ambassade de Talleyrand à Londres, 1830-1834* (Revue des Études Historiques, May); A. Friis, *Die Aufhebung des Artikels V. des Prager Friedens* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXV. 1); Baron Mourre, *La Crise de 1920-1921 et ses Causes* (Revue d'Économie Politique, September).

### THE GREAT WAR

Further discussion of the origins of the war is presented by Alfred Pevet in *Les Responsables de la Guerre* (Paris, Librairie de l'Humanité, 1921, pp. 500); the Kautsky documents have been translated into French as *Documents Allemands relatifs à l'Origine de la Guerre* (Paris, Schleicher, 1921, 4 vols.).

The question whether the revolutionary parties in Germany caused the defeat of that country is answered in the affirmative by E. von Wrisberg, an official of the war ministry, in *Der Weg zur Revolution, 1914-1918* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1921, pp. 179).

A concise strategic review of the whole period of the war is furnished by Otto von Moser in *Kurzer Strategischer Überblick über den Weltkrieg, 1914-1918* (Berlin, Mittler, 1921, pp. 123). General A. von Kluck tells the story of the advance of the 1st Army at the battle of the Aisne under the title *Der Marsch auf Paris und die Marneschlacht 1914* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. vi, 167). It includes many orders and military communications. A book designed for self-justification but of some historical value is General Lanrezac's *Le Plan de Campagne Français et le Premier Mois de la Guerre, 2 Août-3 Septembre, 1914* (Paris, Payot, pp. 284).

Volume VII. of *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* (Paris, Chapelot), edited by Pierre Dehautcourt, is written by General Palat and entitled *La Course à la Mer*. It deals with the loss of St. Mihiel, the French in the battle of the Aisne, and the race to the sea.

*Die Marzoffensive, 1918: Strategie oder Taktik* (Leipzig, Koehler), by Otto Fehr, gives an account based on the documents of the German Supreme Command.

An account of the final phase of the war is given by Major S. Ashmead-Bartlett in *From the Somme to the Rhine* (London, John Lane).

*With the Russian Army, 1914-1917*, in two volumes, by Sir Alfred

Knox, consists chiefly of extracts from the diary of the author, who was military attaché. There are numerous illustrations, chiefly from photographs taken by the author, and also a number of maps (New York, Dutton).

Two books have recently appeared dealing with the war in Rumania. C. J. Baicoianu has published a study of *La Banque Nationale de Roumanie pendant l'Occupation, Novembre 1916-Novembre 1918* (Paris, Sirey, 1921, pp. 163), and A. Berindey has written *La Situation Économique et Financière de la Roumanie sous l'Occupation Allemande* (Paris, Duchemin, 1921, pp. 216).

The breakdown of Austria-Hungary in September 1919 is told on the basis of documents by Hugo Kerchnawe in *Der Zusammenbruch der Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Wehrmacht im Herbst 1918* (Munich, Lehmann, 1921, pp. 205). A French translation by Captain Koelz of General A. von Cramon's *Quatre ans au G. Q. C. Austro-Hongrois pendant la Guerre Mondiale comme Représentant du G. Q. G. Allemand* (Paris, Payot, 1921) has been published.

The more important of the seven articles included in *Zwischen Kaukasus und Sinai* (Berlin, Mulzer und Cleeman, 1921) deal with the Germans in Palestine during the Great War. This is the first of a projected series to be published by the Association of Germans who fought in Asia.

The naval history of the war has had very little attention from Continental writers. Georges Douin has described the rôle played by the navy in the defense of the Suez canal and the protection of Egypt in *L'Attaque du Canal de Suez: 3 Février 1915* (Paris, Delagrave, 1921, pp. 114). Lieutenant de Rivoyre has written *Histoire de la Guerre Navale, 1914-1918* (Paris, Fournier, 1922, pp. 387), and a former minister of marine, Georges Leygues, has written a brief account of *Les Marins de France: l'Oeuvre de la Marine Française pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1922, pp. 112).

*Le Pape Benoît et la Guerre* (Paris, Tequi, 1921, pp. xxiii, 394) is a collection of articles by C. Gallet which defends the papal diplomacy and holds Benedict XV. to have been perfectly impartial in action though he felt a marked preference for the French cause.

Another section of the history of the Great War based on official documents is entitled *Medical Services, General History* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. xvi, 464). The first volume of this series, by Major-Gen. Sir W. G. Macpherson, has just appeared.

Losses of territory by Germany are described in *Der Kampf um Schleswig-Holstein* (Berlin, Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1921), by A. Köster, who was intimately connected in an official capacity with the events which he narrates, and by M. Worgitski in *Geschichte der Abstimmung in Ostpreussen: Der Kampf um Ermland und Masuren* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1921), written from a similar point of vantage.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Général Douchy, *Le Plan d'Invasion de 1914 d'après le Grand État-Major Allemand* (La Revue Universelle, October 1); Capt. J. S. Sweitzer, jr., *The Champagne-Marne Defensive*, cont. (Infantry Journal, January, February); Major E. N. McClellan, U. S. M. C., *The St. Mihiel Offensive* (Marine Corps Gazette, December); P. Painlevé, *Comment j'ai nommé Foch et Pétain*, I., II. (Revue de Paris, December 15, January 1); M. Lair, *Les Chefs de Guerre Allemands*, I., II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July, October); Rapisardi-Mirabelli, *Le Traité de Sèvres, 10 Août 1920, et les Principales Questions Internationales qui s'y Rapportent* (Revue de Droit International, II. 5).

#### GREAT BRITAIN

The American Association for International Conciliation has brought out, with the title *Present Problems of the Commonwealth of British Nations*, the proceedings of the conference of prime ministers and representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, held in June, July, and August, 1921, and has also issued, with the title *Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments*, the addresses of President Harding, Secretary Hughes, Mr. Balfour, Baron Kato, M. Briand, and others.

H. M. Stationery Office (Imperial House, Kingsway, W. C. 2) has published for the Public Record Office a volume of *Lists of the Records of the Treasury, the Paymaster General's Office, the Exchequer and Audit Department, and the Board of Trade to 1837* (pp. x, 217, £1 8s.). American students will be especially interested in the detailed listing of the papers of the Royal African Company (T. 70) and of those relating to the Loyalists (T. 79 and 50) and to East Florida (T. 77).

*A Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum*, in four volumes, edited by Sir George F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, has been printed by order of the trustees.

Under the direction of Dr. Hubert Hall, a seminar of the London School of Economics has compiled a valuable conspectus of the most important sources of English agrarian history under the title *Classified List of Agrarian Surveys in the Public Record Office* (pp. 23), listing and briefly describing such documents, from Domesday Book into the nineteenth century, with an introduction of 12 pages, a brief notice of similar manuscripts outside the Public Record Office, and a bibliography of agrarian surveys.

Mr. W. C. Bolland, whose course of lectures in the University of London on *The Year Books* was mentioned a year ago, has followed that volume with a second series of similar lectures on *The General Eyre* (Cambridge University Press).

James A. Williamson in *A Short History of British Expansion* (London, Macmillan) carries his subject from the Conquest to the present day.

The Royal Historical Society has in preparation a volume of diplomatic instructions to British ministers to Sweden, 1689-1727, ed. J. F. Chance, intended to be the first in a series of volumes of diplomatic instructions; and a volume of the parliamentary papers of John Robinson, 1775-1783, edited by Professor W. T. Laprade of Trinity College, North Carolina.

Professor J. Holland Rose, professor of naval history in the University of Cambridge, has published a new book on *Lord Hood and the Defence of Toulon* (Cambridge University Press, pp. viii, 175).

Messrs. Longman have in press a new work by George Macaulay Trevelyan, on *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, in which the political, economic, and social history of Great Britain, and in a less degree of the Empire, are all considered.

Principal J. W. Graham, who had an important relation to the conflict between the British government and the conscientious objectors, has written a full account of the episode, with a sketch of the corresponding history in other countries, under the title *Conscription and Conscience: a History, 1916-1919* (London, Allen and Unwin).

The late Dr. J. Willis Clark intended, a dozen years ago, to follow up his *Architectural History of Cambridge* with a portfolio of reproductions of six old plans of Cambridge, with accompanying description. Delayed by the war, the enterprise has now been achieved by the Master of Jesus College, Mr. Arthur Gray. *Old Plans of Cambridge* (Cambridge, Bowes and Bowes) reproduces the bird's-eye views by Richard Lyne, 1574, George Braun, 1575, and Thomas Fuller, 1634, two plans of 1688 and 1798, respectively, and, most important of all, a plan by John Hamond, 1592, of which only one complete copy (Bodleian) is known. These are reproduced in the portfolio, and there is an accompanying volume of careful explanations (pp. xxxvii, 154).

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for January we note an interesting list of documents relative to coal mining in the Saltcoats district in the early part of the eighteenth century by N. M. Scott, and an article on Robert Owen and the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle by an American, Albert T. Volwiler.

An important monograph on the origin of the Scottish Court of Session, by Professor R. K. Hannay, is printed in vol. XI. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir William Ashley, *The Place of Rye in the History of English Food* (Economic Journal, September); Godfrey Davies, *Council and Cabinet, 1679-1688* (English Historical Review, January); E. Halévy, *Comment Lord Palmerston passa pour Grand Homme* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); R. L. Schuyler, *The Climax of Anti-Imperialism in England* (Political Science Quarterly, December).

## IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see page 666)

An important contribution to knowledge of the history of modern Ulster, and especially of the settlement of Derry by the ten London companies, is made by Mr. J. W. Kernohan's *The County of Londonderry in Three Centuries* (Belfast, the author, 115 Park Road).

On the occasion of the recent beatification of the martyred primate of Ireland, Mgr. C. Salotti wrote *Un Martire Irlandese, Oliviero Plunket* (Rome, Ferrari, 1920, pp. 274). In its preparation he used a number of documents difficult of access, which make the book of particular value.

An objective exposition of the opinions and the facts which molded opinion is set forth by Yann M. Goblet (Louis Treguiz) in *L'Irlande dans la Crise Universelle, 1914-1920* (Paris, Alcan, 1921). E. Cailliet has written of *Les Origines du Mouvement Sinn-Féin en Irlande* (Metz, Le Messin, 1921, pp. 64).

In series III. of the *Historical Records of Australia* [Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament], vol. IV. (pp. xviii, 975) is concerned with Tasmania, 1821-1825.

Australia also is to have her official war history. It is entitled *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, and is to consist of twelve volumes, nine dealing with military matters, one with the navy, one with affairs in Australia during the war, and one containing photographs. The first six volumes—two on Gallipoli and four on France—are to be contributed by Mr. C. E. W. Bean. The first Anzac volume has appeared (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, pp. xxviii, 660). Meantime, an excellent history of the achievements of the New Zealanders has been published, "a popular history based on official records", *The New Zealand Division, 1916-1919* (Auckland, Whitcomb and Tombs), by Colonel H. Stewart, C. M. G., who in times of peace is professor of classics in Canterbury College at Christchurch.

Volume I. of the *Cambridge History of India* has been published by the Cambridge University Press.

In the first number of the *Journal of Indian History*, published by the department of modern Indian history in the University of Allahabad, five of the eight articles are by the editor, Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, and the other three by his three assistants. Documents and discussions concerning the East India trade in the seventeenth century, articles on the sources in British archives for Indian history in that century, on the East India Company's war with Aurangzeb, on the Mughal government under Jahangir, on Sher Shah, and the like, compose the contents.

Humphrey Milford is about to publish a second edition, in two volumes, of Erskine and Leyden's translation of the *Memoirs of Babur, Emperor of Hindustan*. The first edition appeared in 1836.



A further volume, 1660-1663, of the *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, by Miss Ethel B. Sainsbury, with an introduction by Mr. William Foster, will soon be published by the Oxford University Press.

The Imperial Record Department of Calcutta has issued a *Press List of "Mutiny Papers", 1857*, giving a précis of papers in Persian and Urdu taken at the capture of Delhi and dealing with its history during the period of the mutiny. Lack of classification makes it somewhat difficult for the student to avail himself of the valuable material here presented.

#### FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France: le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* (Revue Historique, November); Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France, 1378-1498* (*ibid.*, September).

R. Genestal's *Le Privilégium Fori en France du Décret de Gratien à la Fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, vol. I. (Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. xix, 246), is a learned study of the earliest period, of especial value for church history, but not without interest in a wider field.

M. Aubert, who wrote a history of the cathedral in 1909, has now published *Notre-Dame de Paris: sa Place dans l'Architecture du XII. au XIV. Siècle* (Paris, Laurens, 1921, pp. 242), a more detailed and elaborate study of some of the problems of the construction, and of its influence upon Gothic architecture. It is excellently illustrated.

A new and useful manual is D. Blanchet and J. Toutain's *Histoire de France, depuis le Début du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle jusqu'en 1774* (Paris, Belin, 1921, pp. 246).

Messrs. Champion have published a second volume (pp. 448), dealing with the Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians, of *Les Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime*, by J. Mathorez, of which the first volume was reviewed in a former issue of this journal (XXVI. 82).

An intimate picture of Paris, still outwardly medieval, is given by Alfred Franklin in *Paris et les Parisiennes au Seizième Siècle* (Paris, Émile-Paul).

Dr. J. Pannier, Protestant pastor in Paris, in his volume on *L'Église Réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII., 1610-1621* (Paris, Champion, 1921, pp. 900), follows the history he published in 1911 of the Huguenot churches under Henry IV. with a similar account of events, of persons, and of movements in the fields of religion, letters, and art.

P. Costes has now published the second and third volumes of the *Correspondance de Saint Vincent de Paul, 1640-1650* (Paris, Gabalda, 1920-1921, pp. 644, 649). A great number of unprinted and previously inaccessible letters are printed. The editor has shown great care in reading and interpreting the text and separating originals from copies. There are abundant notes.

C. Urbain has collected *Écrits et Lettres Politiques de Fénelon* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 195), publishing among other things a severe letter addressed to Louis XIV. in 1694.

Abbé J. Dedieu has written a hostile account of the political activities of the Huguenots under the title *Le Rôle Politique des Protestants Français, 1685-1715* (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1921, pp. xviii, 362). He absolves the Catholics from blame for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, making Louis entirely responsible.

C. Chassé in *Napoléon par les Écrivains* (Paris, Hachette, 1921, pp. 260) has gathered together what was said of Napoleon by Mme. de Staël, Constant, Fontanes, Talleyrand, and others during his reign, during his exile, at his death, and at various periods since. The selection and arrangement make it very illuminating. Somewhat the same task was undertaken by R. Burnand and F. Boucher in *L'Histoire de Napoléon racontée par les Grands Écrivains* (Paris, Grasset, pp. 390). The arrangement, however, is different inasmuch as the editors gathered together what authors said of different periods of his life. J. d'Auriac has published *Napoléon raconté par Lui-Même* (Paris, Chiron, 1921, pp. 500), which includes a good many comments on Napoleon which contemporaries put in their memoirs.

F. Maçon has gathered three papers based on unpublished documents into a volume entitled *Revue d'Ombres* (Paris, Ollendorff). The change from republic to empire, the last days of Murat, and the conspiracy of Grenoble, 1816, are the topics dealt with.

The second and third volumes of *La Société du Second Empire* (Paris, Michel, 1921, pp. 414, 168), by Comte Fleury and L. Sonolet, cover respectively the years 1858 to 1862, and 1863 to 1867.

Bossard, Paris, has published *Les Origines de la III<sup>e</sup> République: Étude et Documents Historiques*. The compiler of this collection, Auguste Callet, was the reporter of the Commission of Enquiry into the Revolution of September 4, 1870, and the volume now printed is the first of two which he intended to make from the abundant materials then collected.

M. Bruchet has published two volumes on *Archives Départementales du Nord* (Lille, Danel, 1921, pp. lxvii, 515; xxxii, 253). The archives at Lille are of exceptional value for the history of the Middle Ages.

J. Régné has published the second volume of his *Histoire du Vivarais* under the title *Le Développement Politique et Administratif du Pays de 1039 à 1500* (Largentière, Mazel, 1921, pp. xvi, 520). Not only political but religious and economic questions are capably studied. The first volume appeared in 1914.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Lot, *Conjectures Démographiques sur la France au IX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Le Moyen Age, January-April);

G. Goyau, *Saint Louis* (Revue Universelle, January); R. Vivier, *La Grand Ordonnance de Février 1351: les Mesures Anticorporatives et la Liberté du Travail* (Revue Historique, November); N. Weiss, *Les Débuts de la Réforme en France d'après quelques Documents Inédits*, VI. *Les Premiers Missionnaires Pierre de Sibiville, Michel d'Arande, Aimé Meigret, 1523-1524* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, October); L. Batiffol, *Richelieu et la Question de l'Alsace* (Revue Historique, November); C. Pfister, *Le Second Voyage de Louis XIV. en Alsace, Octobre, 1681*, I., II. (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May-June, July-August); Comte d'Haussonville, *Lafayette et Madame de Staël: Lettres Inédites* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); H. Sée, *La Rôle de la Bourgeoisie Bretonne à la Veille de la Révolution* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXIV. 4); P. Gaxotte, *Les Influences d'Argent dans la Révolution Française* (Revue Universelle, January); A. Mathiez, *La Révolution et les Subsistances*, VIII. *Le Mort de Marat et le Vote de la Loi sur l'Accaparement* (Annales Révolutionnaires, November); P. Meuriot, *Les Districts de 1790: Comment ils sont devenus les Arrondissements de l'An VIII.* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May-June); Varagnac, *Napoléon et son Conseil d'État* (*ibid.*, May-June); H. Puget, *Le Conseil d'État au Temps de Napoléon* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July); Lord Teignmouth, *Napoleon and the British Navy* (United Royal Service Institution, November); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Augustin Thierry d'après sa Correspondance*, II., III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, December 15); H. Salomon, *Une Expérience Politique en 1870 et ses Conséquences: Étude Critique*, I. *Le Ministère du 2 Janvier et les Responsabilités de M. Émile Ollivier*; II. *L'Incident Hohenzollern* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXXII.); E. Déborde de Montcorin, *La Légende du Drapeau Blanc, Octobre, 1873* (Revue des Études Historiques, May); A. Auzoux, *Une Institution d'Autrefois: Les Charités Normandes* (*ibid.*, May).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Previous estimates of population are overthrown by P. Egidì in *Ricerche sulla Popolazione dell'Italia Meridionale nei Secoli XIII. e XIV.* (Lucca, Baroni, 1920). On the basis of returns from taxation he estimates the population for Italy at about 3,400,000 and for Sicily at 1,100,000.

*Firenze dopo i Medici* (Florence, Bemporad; London, Truslove and Hanson), by Giuseppi Conti, recounts the "improvements" made by the Lorraine grand-dukes, 1737-1792, and the Florentines' dissatisfaction with them.

A. Luzio, archivist at Turin, who two years ago published the letters which passed between Mazzini and his mother, throws further light on his career in a volume entitled *Giuseppe Mazzini, Carbonaro* (Turin, Bocca, 1920), based on new documents. Mazzini is followed step by step from his initiation in 1827 till the foundation of the Young Italy.

G. Bourgin has translated into French from the Italian R. Michels's *Le Proletariat et la Bourgeoisie dans le Mouvement Socialiste Italien, particulièrement des Origines à 1906* (Paris, Giard, 1921, pp. 356).

Professor Rafael Ballester has performed for Spanish history a service similar to that which has been rendered before to students of French and of Belgian history by the manuals of Monod and Pirenne, by preparing a *Bibliografía de la Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1921, pp. 297), listing some 1400 books, including both sources and later writings.

An additional volume of the *Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo General de Indias*, by the archivist, Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, has been published at Seville by the Centro de Estudios Americanistas; it covers about two-thirds of section III., Casa de Contratación. The printing of the *Libro de las Longitudes* of Alonso de Santa Cruz in successive numbers of the archival *Boletín* having been finished, it also is now issued as a separate volume.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Mayer, *Das Altspanische Obligationenrecht in seinen Grundzügen*, II. (*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XXXIX. 1 and 2); A. Alcover, *Los Mozárabes Baleares*, II. (*Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, July).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: E. Stähelin, *Die Zwingliliteratur der Jahre 1913-1920* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXIX.).

The German Historical Commission attached to the Bavarian Academy is finding much difficulty in publishing the volumes of materials completed, but a new "Gesellschaft von Freunden der Deutschen Geschichte" has been formed, which will supplement diminished governmental aid. Vols. XIII. and XVI. of the *Reichstagsakten*, earlier series, have been finished, and Augsburg VIII. and IX. and volumes for Brunswick and Lüneburg, in the *Städtekroniken* series. For the series relating to the nineteenth century, the papers of Radowitz are ready for publication, those of Droysen well advanced.

F. Philippi has published his lectures under the title *Einführung in die Urkundenlehre des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Bonn, Schroeder, 1920, pp. viii, 256). The volume will be especially useful to graduate students.

The second part of volume II. of G. Dehio's *Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst* (Berlin, Gruyter, 1921, pp. iv, 350) covers the period from the middle of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. It is well illustrated.

*Kulturgeschichte der Urzeit Germaniens, des Frankenreiches, und Deutschlands im frühen Mittelalter, bis 919 A. D.* (Bonn, Schroeder, 1920, pp. 374), by Rudolf Goette, is particularly noteworthy in its treatment of the stone age, of the bronze age, and of Roman influence on German civilization.

A remarkable collection of 544 documents from the archives of Reval is published by Professor W. Stieda of Leipzig in *Hildebrand Veckinchusen: Briefwechsel eines Deutschen Kaufmanns im 15. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, pp. lvii, 560), with an interesting introduction. The collection consists in the main of letters that passed between two brothers, Hanseatic merchants trading with marts as widespread as Novgorod, Bergen, and Venice, and ranges through forty years from 1395.

Richard Wolff's *Studien zu Luthers Weltanschauung* (Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1920, pp. 65) is a small book but a solid contribution toward understanding Luther's personality and purposes.

Wilhelm Schüssler has edited *Die Tagebücher des Freiherrn Reinhard von Dalwigk zu Lichtenfels aus den Jahren 1860-71* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1920, pp. viii, 535). The diary was a painstaking piece of work and gives a vivid account of events. It is well edited and has numerous notes and appendixes.

A careful and clear account of the elements which composed and the events which precipitated the crisis in the first three months of 1890 is to be found in W. Schüssler's *Bismarcks Sturz* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1921, pp. xii, 327). It is written from a viewpoint hostile to the Kaiser. An attempt to analyze Bismarck's personality is embodied in *Bismarck im eigenen Urteil: Psychologische Studien* (Berlin, Cotta, 1920, pp. 247) by Karl Groos. Wolfgang Windelband has published *Herbert Bismarck als Mitarbeiter seines Vaters* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921).

C. Bornhak has written a book covering the period from the fall of Bismarck to the outbreak of the war under the title *Deutsche Geschichte unter Kaiser Wilhelm II.* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1921, pp. viii, 360). F. Caburi's *Guglielmo II.* (Milan, tip. ed. Risorgimento, 1920, pp. 103) is the work of an Italian journalist thoroughly familiar with Austria and Germany. It is devoted largely to a study of the Kaiser's personality. D. Roget has translated W. Rathenau's *Le Kaiser: Méditations* (Paris, Agence Générale de Librairie et de Publications, 1921, pp. 150) into French.

The second volume of Georg von Hertling's *Erinnerungen aus Meinem Leben* (Kempten, Kösel, 1920, pp. iv, 312; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV. 506) is edited by his son, Karl Graf von Hertling. The volume covers the period down to 1902, and is to be followed by a third. George Michaelis has published *Für Staat und Volk: eine Lebensgeschichte* (Berlin, Furche-Verlag, 1921).

Many commentaries upon the new German constitution are appearing in that country. Hans Naviasky's *Die Grundgedanken der Reichsverfassung* (Munich, Duncker und Humblot, 1920, pp. 164) is an interpretation of the political content of the new constitution which contrasts it with the constitution of 1871. *Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches vom 11*

*August, 1919* (Berlin, Stilke, 1921, pp. 290), by Gerhard Anschütz, gives the historical background and explains the constitution from parliamentary material. The second edition of F. Giese's *Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches vom 11 August, 1919* (Berlin, Heymann, 1920, pp. xvi, 456) contains a bibliography of important books and periodical articles about the constitution. The second edition of Fritz Poetzsch's *Handausgabe der Reichsverfassung vom 11 August, 1919* (Berlin, Liebmann, 1921, pp. 226) is enlarged by the latest legislation, which in effect amends constitutional practice. The first collection of legislation based on the new constitution is Otto Meissner's *Das Neue Staatsrecht des Reichs und seiner Länder systematisch dargestellt* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1921, pp. xi, 359). It is organized in a very useful way. Rudolf Cohn in *Die Reichsaufsicht über die Länder nach der Reichsverfassung vom 11 August, 1919* (Berlin, Heymann, 1921, pp. vii, 64) makes an attempt to work out systematically the rights of imperial control under the new constitution.

*L'Allemagne: Lendemain de Guerre et de Révolution* (Paris, Colin, 1921, pp. 300) is by Maurice Baumont and Marcel Berthelot, who were attached to French missions in Berlin after the armistice and whose information, therefore, was gathered on the ground. They made use of many documents not readily available elsewhere.

After a long interval the second half of the first volume of Rudolf Bemann's *Bibliographie der Sächsischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. xviii, 614) has appeared. It contains titles relating to the constitution, law and government, economic relations, intellectual life, the church, and the army.

Stimulated by the opening of the Austrian archives up to dates quite recent, and by other causes, the archivists of the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv have begun the publication of a journal, *Historische Blätter* (Vienna, Rikola), which promises to be of much value, especially to students of modern history. The first number contains an article by Professor G. von Below, of Freiburg, continued in the second number, on the modern development of German historiography, especially in its relations to romanticism, Hegel, Marx, and sociology; a body of correspondence of Archduke John with the Austrian chancery respecting the Sonderbund question; an article by the late Professor August Fournier, on European politics from 1812 to the first peace of Paris, intended, together with his article in the *Deutsche Rundschau* of July, 1919, on the Paris peace conference of 1814, to form the preliminary chapters of a book on the Congress of Vienna; and a paper by Professor Alexander Cartellieri, of Heidelberg, on Georges Bourdon's *Figaro* articles and book of 1913 on German public opinion respecting France and war. In the second number there is a thorough critical discussion of the character of the political testament of Charles V., by Professor J. K. Mayr, of Vienna; a first installment of "Neues zur Orientpolitik des Grafen Andrassy", 1876-1877,



by Eduard von Wertheimer, of Vienna; and "Das Schicksal der Deutschen und der Weltkrieg", by Berthold Molden.

Professor Viktor Bibl, of the University of Vienna, with the aid of copious materials from the national archives, is preparing an important historical work on *Der Zerfall Oesterreichs* (Vienna, Rikola), of which the first volumes, *Kaiser Franz und sein Erbe* and *Von Revolution zu Revolution* [1848-1918], will shortly appear. The same publisher announces two important documentary publications, *Kronprinz Rudolf: Politische Briefe an einen Freund, 1882-1889*, letters to Moritz Szepe, editor of the *Wiener Tagblatt*, and articles contributed by the prince to that journal, and *Der Politische Nachlass des Grafen Eduard Taaffe*, prime minister of Austria from 1879 to 1893.

*The Emperor Francis Joseph and His Times* (London, Hutchinson), by Lieut.-Gen. Baron von Margutti, is a memoir of the later years of the emperor's life by a member of his official family.

Field-Marshal Conrad-Hötzendorf is publishing, at considerable length and with many supporting documents, his memoirs, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit, 1906-1918* (Vienna, Rikola). The first volume, *Die Zeit der Annexionskrise, 1906-1909*, and the second, continuing the narrative through 1912, have already appeared. The third, extending through 1913 and the first half of 1914, will appear in the autumn. After these volumes dealing with Balkan wars and military preparations will come the memoirs of the Great War, which the author is preparing.

The Czechoslovak government is establishing at Rome an independent historical institute in the place of the "Bohemian expedition" formerly attached to the Austrian Institute, and will bring out before long vol. III. (pontificate of Urban V.) of the *Monumenta Bohemiae Vaticana*. The Cracow Academy of Sciences is contemplating the foundation of a Polish institute also, and there is prospect of a Yugoslav institute and of co-operation between the three Slavonic establishments.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Mayer, *Der Ursprung der Germanischen Gottesurteile* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XX. 3); M. von Hagen, *Die Bündnispolitik des Deutschen Reiches* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The late Dr. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer of Amsterdam, whose monograph on the Brownists, in the *Werken* of the Amsterdam Academy, is known to students of Pilgrim history, prepared before his death a volume which has been translated into English by his son and edited by Rev. Dr. William E. Griffis, and is now about to be published under the title *History of the Free Churchmen called the Brownists and Pilgrim Fathers in Holland* (Ithaca, N. Y., Andrus and Church). It is certain to constitute an authoritative account of the Amsterdam community from which the Leyden Pilgrims came, and of its relations to the church history of the time.



The new organ of the Belgian historians and philologists, the *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, appeared in January, as announced in our last number, and makes a most creditable beginning of an enterprise which has our best wishes. Among the historical articles we note one of much suggestive generalization by Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, "Mahomet et Charlemagne", on the general effect of the spread of Islam on the western world; one by Professor L. Leclère of Brussels, on the chronological limits of the Middle Ages; one by M. Hubert Nelis on the dating of the charters of Philip the Good; and a useful article by M. Victor Tournier, secretary of the Numismatic Society of Brussels, on the proper procedure in evaluating sums of money mentioned in medieval and modern Belgian sources.

The *Bulletin* of the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire, LXXXV. 1, contains a full account of the Ypres chronicle, 1562-1595, of Augustijn van Hernighem, by M. Victor Fris.

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: K. Völker, *Zur Reformationsgeschichte Polens: ein Forschungsbericht* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XXXIX.).

An elaborate history of the swords of the vikings, by Dr. Jan Petersen, with nearly 140 illustrations, occupies 228 pages of the *Skrifter* of the Christiania Society of Sciences for 1919 (Christiania, 1920, Jacob Dybwad).

The chief Norwegian historical society, the Norske Historiske Forening, has celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation by publishing an impressive volume on the history of historical work in Norway during the period from 1869 to 1919, *Norsk Historisk Videnskap i Femti Ar* (Christiania, Grøndal and Son, 1920, pp. 352), to which Professors Halvdan Koht, Edvard Bull, and Oscar A. Johnsen, and other scholars, contribute chapters on various aspects of Norwegian historical work during the half-century, while Dr. Wilhelm Munthe gives a history of the society itself.

A history of the revolutionary movement in Russia with particular emphasis upon the period between 1905 and 1918 is published under the title *Wie Russland Bolschewistisch Wurde: ein Aufriss der Russischen Revolution* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1921, pp. iii, 128). The author, E. Jenny, lived for many years in Russia. S. Zagorsky, professor of political economy in the University of Petrograd, has written *La République des Soviets: Bilan Économique* (Paris, Payot, 1921), attempting to show the way in which developments have been in a direction diametrically opposite to communist principles and to the objects sought by Bolshevik leaders. V. Tchernov, former minister of agriculture under the provisional government and one of the leaders of the Socialist Revolutionary party, has published *Mes Tribulations en Russie Soviétique* (Paris, Povolozky, 1921).

The first of three volumes on *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. x, 377), by M. Paléologue, French ambassador at St. Petersburg, covers the period from July, 1914, to June, 1915. This very important contribution first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

The first volume of Professor Paul Miliukov's history of the second Russian Revolution (*Istoriia Vtoroi Russkoi Revoliutsii*), meaning the revolution of 1917, has been published (Sofia, Russian-Bulgarian Press; London, Jashke). It covers the period from March to July, 1917. It was partly written the next winter, and was then to be published at Kiev. There the Petliura troops endeavored to destroy print and manuscript, but an imperfect copy of the latter escaped destruction, and was made the basis of the present important work.

Two volumes of General Denikin's memoirs have appeared under the title *Ocherki Russkoi Smuti* [Outlines of the Russian Turmoil] (Paris, Povolozky). These recollections, just, impersonal, convincing, are of such value that it is to be hoped that they may soon be translated. The second volume runs to the arrest of Kornilov, Denikin, and others, after Kornilov's rising.

P. Apostol and A. Michelson, well known Russian economists, have written *La Lutte pour le Pétrole et la Russie* (Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 224) which deals with the subject historically as well as devoting space to the present situation.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Vicomte de Guische, *L'Évolution de la Politique Russe du XIX<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May-June); J. W. Headlam-Morley, *Russian Diplomacy before the War* (Quarterly Review, January); anon., *L'Assassinat d'Alexandre II.*, I. (Revue de Paris, January 1); M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre*, second series, I. *La Réouverture de la Douma* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); O. Dzenis, *How the Bolsheviki captured the Winter Palace* (Living Age, February 11, from the Moscow *Pravda*, November 6); Général C. Brummer, *Les Derniers Jours du Grand Duc Nicolas Mikhaïlovitch* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15).

#### SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

To the S. P. C. K. series of *Translations of Christian Literature* has been added a small volume of *Lives of the Serbian Saints* (pp. xx, 108), ed. Voyeslav Yanich and C. P. Jankey.

The general history of the Orthodox Church to the year 1050 is given in *Istoriija Hristianske Erkve* (Belgrade, Kon, 1920, pp. vi, 220) by R. M. Grujic. The same author, who is a professor in the University of Belgrad, gives an account of the church in Serbia in *Pravoslavna Srpska Tzrkva* (Belgrade, 1921, pp. vi, 220). The work includes an extensive

bibliography. *Pravoslavno Monastvo i Monastiri u Srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* (Karlovicz, 1920) is a posthumous work of B. Markovic and is a learned contribution to the study of monasticism in the Serbian church.

In *Deux Typica Byzantins de l'Époque des Paléologues* (pp. 213, from the *Mémoires* of the Royal Academy of Belgium), Father Hippolyte Delehaye presents the Greek text of the *typica* of two nunneries in Constantinople, that of Our Lady of Good Hope, founded about 1300 by Theodora, niece of the Emperor Michael VIII. Palaeologus, and that of Constantine Lips, founded by him in the eleventh century, and refounded by another Theodora, wife of Michael VIII. *Typica* were monastic rules. Father Delehaye gives a chronological list of those that have been printed. Very few of them are for convents of women. He also gives a full discussion of the history, organization, and rules of these two convents.

General Liman von Sanders has published his memoirs under the title *Fünf Jahre Türkei* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 408). When, after the armistice, he was held prisoner of war for six months he began this account of his experiences. It is a record of conflict with Enver and an attempt to prove that the Turks were not entirely controlled by their German allies.

#### ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

General review: E. Montet, *Histoire de l'Islam* (Revue Historique, September).

The Lombard colony of Nicosia, both before the Norman conquest and during the twelfth century, forms the subject of a recent study, *I Lombardi di Nicosia nel XII. Secolo: Nuovi Studi e Ricerche* (Nicosia, Lavoro, 1920), by A. Barbato.

*La Syrie* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. xix, 733), by G. Samné, is a work of almost encyclopaedic character and is particularly good on the historical side.

A specimen of the difficulties attending government under mandates and of the patient consideration and competence of knowledge with which British administrators may approach them is afforded by the *Report of the Commission appointed by the Government of Palestine to inquire into the Affairs of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem* (Oxford, University Press, pp. vii, 336), prepared by the commissioners, Sir Anton Bertram, chief justice of Ceylon, and Mr. H. C. Luke, assistant governor of Jerusalem. The Patriarch and the majority of his synod have come to be so widely at variance that a determination of their constitutional relations, and of the power of the Orthodox Eastern Churches to try and depose a Patriarch, became necessary. In pursuing this inquiry, the commissioners have brought together an extraordinary amount of information concerning the constitutional history of those churches.

Among recent books dealing with the trans-Caucasian peoples that of P. G. La Chesnais, *Les Peuples de Transcaucasie pendant la Guerre et devant la Paix* (Paris, Bossard, 1921), is worthy of note.

An account of the origin and spread of Mohammedanism in China is given by N. Hartmann in his recently published volume, *Zur Geschichte des Islam in China* (Leipzig, Heims, 1921, pp. xxiv, 152). M. Anesaki is the author of *Quelques Pages de l'Histoire Religieuse du Japon* (Paris, Bernard, 1921, pp. 173).

*The Economic History of China; with special Reference to Agriculture*, by Mabel Ping-Hua Lee, is among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* (New York, Longmans).

A. Dubosco, whose residence at Peking as a lecturer in the university gave him opportunities for observation, has written the history of the last ten years under the title *L'Évolution de la Chine: Politique et Tendances 1911-1921* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 204).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: anon., *L'Organisation de la Syrie sous le Mandat Français* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1); B. Nikitine, *Une Petite Nation, Victime de la Guerre: les Chaldéens* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, October); Sir Aurel Stein, *A Chinese Expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush, A. D. 747* (*Geographic Journal*, February).

#### AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

After an interval of seven years Professor Paul Darmstaedter has published the second volume of his *Geschichte der Aufteilung und Kolonisation Afrikas seit dem Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (Leipzig, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920, pp. vi, 176) under the title *Geschichte der Aufteilung Afrikas 1870-1919*. The account is based upon much unpublished material and even the latest discoveries are treated.

Dr. Mérab, the physician of Menelik II., has published the first volume of his *Impressions d'Éthiopie, l'Abyssinie sous Menelik II.* (Paris, Libert, 1921, pp. xv, 390). It includes an historical sketch as well as material on geography and ethnography.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Kahle, *Zur Geschichte der Mittelalterlichen Alexandria* (*Der Islam*, XII.); C. C. Rossini, *Expéditions et Possessions des Habašāt en Arabie* (*Journal Asiatique*, July-September).

#### AMERICA

##### GENERAL ITEMS

The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress has acquired, by transfer from the Department of State, those papers of the Continental Congress of a diplomatic sort hitherto retained in that department, together with Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the records of the Constitutional Convention,

and some papers of Franklin, Madison, and Jefferson. The Department of State has also transferred to the Library the Henry Adams transcripts of diplomatic correspondence of Great Britain, France, and Spain, relating to the United States, 1787-1814 (20 volumes). Among the other recent accessions of importance are: papers of Commodore David Porter and Admiral David D. Porter, 1799-1899 (about 260 pieces); accounts, etc., of the Charles Bruce plantation at Staunton Hill, Charlotte County, Virginia, 1798-1879 (about 500 pieces); Nathaniel Niles papers, 1802-1850 (175 pieces); miscellaneous papers of William Eaton, 1801-1808; papers of Maj.-Gen. John M. Schofield, 1861-1895; Russel Jarvis papers, 1827-1851 (74 pieces); additions to the Andrew Jackson Papers, 1812-1839 (67 pieces); additions to the Nathanael Greene Papers 1778-1783 (16 letters); letters (16) from John Quincy Adams to Joseph Blunt, 1804-1834; letters from Baring Brothers and Company to the United States Bank, 1833 (about 100 pieces); and numerous transcripts from the archives of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Mexico.

The Historical Section of the War Department, located at the Army War College in Washington, hopes in the near future to be able to undertake the preparation of a manual of American military history, in such form as to serve for orientation and elementary bibliography for students. The Section, besides being always ready to place its own archives at the disposal of students properly accredited, and to assist them in gaining access to other files in the War Department, has some facilities for obtaining copies of documents in the military archives of foreign countries, for the benefit of historical students.

Bulletin 74 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is entitled *Excavation of a Site at Santiago Ahuitzotla, D. F., Mexico*, and is by Alfred M. Tozzer. The *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report* (1913-1914) of the Bureau, in two parts, contains, as the Accompanying Paper, a study, by Dr. Franz Boas, of the Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, based on data collected by George Hunt. The paper embodies a large mass of material relating to the industries of the tribes, their beliefs, customs, family histories, songs, etc. The *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1914-1915) of the Bureau has for its principal content a study, by Francis La Flesche, of the Osage Tribe: Rite of the Chiefs; Sayings of the Ancient Men.

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at the semi-annual meeting of October, 1920, Chief Justice Arthur P. Rugg presents, with documents, a paper on the celebrated case of *Sherman vs. Keayne*, 1642; Dr. Charles L. Nichols describes the portraits of Isaiah Thomas, founder of the society, which are reproduced in his article; Mr. Arthur Lord discourses authoritatively upon the *Mayflower* Compact; and Dr. Thomas H. Gage contributes an artists' index to Stauffer's *American Engravers*.

The student of New England history, especially, will find much to

interest him in *Dublin University and the New World* (London, S. P. C. K., pp. 96), a memorial discourse preached in the chapel of Trinity College by Rev. Robert H. Murray, and conveying many interesting details respecting the Mathers and Winthrops and other Americans connected with the college.

The September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains a study, by Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, of the Restoration of the Society of Jesus in the United States, 1806-1815, and an account, by Sister Mary Eulalia, O. M., of the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States: Pittsburgh.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne's long-expected book on *The Causes of the War of Independence* is published this month by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Encyclopedia Press of New York has in the hands of the printers a volume on *The Life and Times of Archbishop John Carroll*, by Professor Peter Guilday of the Catholic University of America.

Mr. J. A. Hoskins of Summerfield, North Carolina, is the compiler and publisher of *President Washington's Diaries, 1791-1799*.

No. 33 of the publications of the Niagara Historical Society is a body of *Documents relating to the Invasion of the Niagara Peninsula by the United States Army commanded by General Jacob Brown, in July and August, 1814* (pp. 99), drawn mostly from sources in Washington.

Longmans, Green, and Company have brought out a new edition of *Division and Reunion*, by Woodrow Wilson, in the "Epoch" series, with additional chapters by Edward S. Corwin, bringing the narrative down to the end of 1918.

*Lincoln the Greatest Man of the Nineteenth Century*, by Charles R. Brown, is from the press of Macmillan.

The late Professor Harry Thurston Peck's *Twenty Years of the Republic* (New York, 1906) comes to us in a French translation, *Vingt Années de Vie Publique aux États-Unis, 1885-1905* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 2 vols.). The translator, M. Charles Oster of *La Patrie*, who died in July, 1914, had in 1908 spent some months in America in the study of our electoral system, and appendixes by him relating to that subject are added.

Mr. Hamlin Garland's *A Daughter of the Middle Border* (Macmillan, 1921, pp. 405) is certainly not now American social history, nor is it fiction. Yet it occupies a border-land touching both fields, and a century hence will probably be used freely by students interested in either subject for the period 1893-1921.

A volume by the late William F. McCombs, entitled *Making Woodrow Wilson President*, has been published, under the editorial supervision of Louis J. Lang, by the Fairview Publishing Co. (342 Madison Avenue, New York).

#### THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

The *Report on the Naval Investigation* by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs (67th Cong., 1 sess., reports, no number), the product of the long investigation conducted by that subcommittee in consequence of Admiral Sims's charges, is in itself a partisan document, more exactly two partisan documents, by the majority and minority members (pp. 136, 80). But the hearings, now available through the committee, in two volumes, aggregating 3445 pages, contain, along with much that is diffuse and worthless, a great amount of valuable historical testimony and document, deserving of preservation and study.

A *History of the 29th Division: Blue and Gray, 1917-1919*, by John A. Cutchins and George S. Stewart, jr., prepared at the request of the divisional historical committee, is understood to contain a complete record of the division, including the name of every officer and enlisted man connected with it (George S. Stewart, jr., 4206 Walnut Street, Philadelphia).

Dodd, Mead, and Company have brought out a *History of the Seventy-Eighth Division in the World War, 1917-1919*, edited by Thomas F. Meehan.

A *History of the 90th Division in the Great War*, by Major George Wythe, division historian, is brought out by the Harlow Publishing Company of Oklahoma City.

#### LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

Historical papers in the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1919-1920 are: biographical sketches of Vermonters in Congress, compiled from the *Congressional Record* by Henry W. Taylor; the *Diary of a Journey through Massachusetts, Vermont, and Eastern New York in the Summer of 1800*, probably by John Russell Davis; the *Reminiscences of Jonathan Elkins (1774-1783)*, including his experiences as a British prisoner; an address, delivered before the society in 1864, by Rev. C. C. Parker, on Ezra Butler, member of Congress 1813-1815, and governor of Vermont 1826-1828; and an address, by Chief Justice John H. Watson, on the Vermont Constitution of 1777 and Slavery.

A *History of Vermont: the Green Mountain State*, by Walter H. Crockett, has been brought out by the Century History Company (8 West 47th Street, New York), and is for sale by the Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont.



The contents of the January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* include: Washington in Essex County, by Robert S. Rantoul; the Province Galley of Massachusetts Bay, 1694-1716, by Harriet S. Tapley; and a continuation of the papers by George G. Putnam on Salem Vessels and their Voyages.

*Contributions* of the Lowell Historical Society, vol. II., no. 1 (October, 1921), includes a paper on the Writing of Local History, by Rev. Wilson Waters; an Historical Sketch of the Police Court of Lowell, by Judge Samuel P. Hadley; a paper on the Acadian Exiles, by Mrs. Sara S. Griffin; and some Reminiscences of the Lowell High School, by Miss Mary A. Webster.

*Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, Massachusetts: a Collection of Narratives and Observations made by Travelers, 1605-1799*, collected and annotated by George F. Dow, is published in Topsfield, Massachusetts, by the Topsfield Historical Society.

Vol. II., part I., of Dr. Worthington C. Ford's *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library* (pp. 250) extends, with the same excellent care and method as its predecessors, from the books printed in 1600 into those of 1634.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Articles in the July (1921) number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* are: Revolutionary Camps of the Hudson Highlands, by W. S. Thomas; the Calvinist Mind in America, by Professor Dixon R. Fox; the Town of Dover on Staten Island, by George W. Tuttle; and the Huguenots the First Settlers in the Province of New York, by Ralph Le Fevre.

The January number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains an illustrated paper, by William L. Calver, on the American Army Button of the War of the Revolution, a brief description of the De Peyster family papers recently acquired by the society through the gift of Mr. F. Ashton De Peyster, and a continuation of the Notes on American Artists, by the late William Kelby. Among these notes is an account of the portrait of Washington by Charles Willson Peale which was captured by Captain George Keppel, R. N., in September, 1780.

*The Township System: a Documentary History of the Endeavor to establish a Township School System in the State of New York . . . to 1918*, and *Free Schools: a Documentary History of the Free School Movement in New York State*, both by Thomas E. Finegan, are published as parts of the 14th and 15th annual reports (1918, 1919) of the department of education of the University of the State of New York.

The Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, at Hamilton, New York, has been greatly enlarged by acquiring the remainder of the books on Baptist history collected by Mr. Champlin Burrage. The late Richard

Colgate bequeathed \$10,000 as an additional endowment for this important collection of materials for religious history in America.

The director of the public record office of New Jersey, Mr. C. E. Godfrey, has issued a special report on the *Conditions of the Public Records in the State of New Jersey*. The report deals with conditions in counties, cities, towns, townships, boroughs, and villages.

Among the contents of the January number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* are Some Unpublished Scots East Jersey Proprietors' Letters, 1683-1684; a paper, by James C. Connolly, on Quit-Rents in Colonial New Jersey as a Contributing Cause for the American Revolution; and a part of the Journal of William Johnson, describing a journey by way of Pittsburgh and the Mississippi to New Orleans, 1800-1801. The journal, which will be continued, extends to 1813.

Articles in the July (1921) number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are: A Whitemarsh Orderly Book, 1777; some letters (1689, 1755) pertaining to Pennsylvania found in the Massachusetts archives; Extracts (1819-1821) from a Commonplace-Book of Henry D. Gilpin; a letter of Christopher Sower, written in 1724, describing the voyage from Europe and conditions in Philadelphia and vicinity, contributed by Professor R. W. Kelsey; and an account (chiefly documentary) of the services of the Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry in the Revolution, by Major W. A. Newman Dorland.

In the *Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society*, January 7, 1921, is found a paper, by David M. Landis, on the Awakening and the Early Progress of the Pequea, Conestoga, and other Susquehanna Valley Settlements, which includes numerous letters of the early eighteenth century. The number for February, 1921, contains an article, by H. C. Martin, on the Provincial, Continental, and Federal Revenues of Lancaster County; and that of March adds Items of Local Interest from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1771-1775.

The January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains the first four chapters of a history of Fort Pitt, by Charles W. Dahlinger, and a paper on William Penn, by Albert S. Bolles.

In a booklet called *The Cradle of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane, and Scott), Thomas Willing Balch commemorates the action of Governor Johan Printz in establishing on Tinicum Island the first permanent seat of government in Pennsylvania, and urges, very properly, that the event might well be commemorated by an historical park upon the island.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The annual appropriation by the state of Maryland for the publication of the *Maryland Archives* has been increased from \$3,000 to \$5,000, enabling the Maryland Historical Society to continue the publication at the

rate of a volume each year. Having carried the Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly to 1740 in the fortieth volume of the *Archives*, the committee on publication has decided to issue in 1922 a volume in the long-suspended series of Acts of the Provincial Court, beginning with the records and papers of the year 1657.

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains the first installment of a study, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, of the career of James A. Pearce, United States senator from Maryland from 1843 to 1863. In this number are also printed some recently acquired provincial records, principally letters of Governor John Seymour, 1707-1709. The Life of Thomas Johnson, by Edward S. Delaplaine, is continued, as is also the series of Notes from the Early Maryland Records. The March number contains a Civil War diary, 1862-1863, of Gen. Isaac R. Trimble, C. S. A., mostly a record of captivity, and an account of Mrs. Richard Caton, by Dr. George C. Keidel.

The contents of the October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* include a Diary of James Stevens of a journey from Halifax County, Virginia, to Scotland in 1786; some historical notes on the Shenandoah Valley (illustrated), contributed by Charles E. Kemper; a letter from Thomas Jefferson to William B. Giles, August 4, 1817, relative to Central College, the forerunner of the University of Virginia; and the Virginia War History Commission's Supplement, no. 4, of Lists and Calendars of Source Material. In the January number are found a paper, by E. Alfred Jones, on the American Regiment in the Carthage Expedition (1740), and one by Fairfax Harrison on Parson Waugh's Tumult (1689).

Dr. Rodney H. True contributes to the January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* an article on John Alexander Binns of Loudoun County, Virginia, author of a pamphlet on agriculture published in 1803, which became a subject of some correspondence between Jefferson and two members of the English board of agriculture, Sir John Sinclair and William Strickland. Portions of this correspondence are reproduced in the article. In the same number is a paper by Robert M. Hughes entitled William and Mary, the First American Law School.

In the January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* appear two letters from Dr. M. F. T. Evans of Virginia to his sister, Mrs. Frank R. Stockton, in Philadelphia, the one written April 30, 1861, the other June 14, 1865, of interest for their indication of Southern attitude at the beginning and at the close of the war, respectively.

*Smith College Studies in History*, vol. VI., no. 4 (July), is the West-over Journal of John A. Selden, Esqr., 1858-1862, with an introduction and notes by Professor John S. Bassett. The writer of the journal was

the owner, from 1829 to 1862, of the noted Westover estate on the James River, the seat of the Byrd family from 1668 to 1814. The journal itself is the matter-of-fact record, by a busy and practical man, of daily events and transactions on his plantation, and presents a quite definite picture of life on a Virginia estate before and during the Civil War.

*Historic Periods of Fredericksburg, 1608-1861*, by Mrs. Vivian M. Fleming, is published in Fredericksburg, Virginia, by the author.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues in the July (1921) number the Izard-Laurens correspondence. The letters are principally those of Ralph Izard, written from Paris between July, 1778, and June, 1779, with one from Izard to John Laurens, dated at Philadelphia, March 27, 1781.

*The Journal of Alexander Chesney, a South Carolina Loyalist in the Revolution and After* (pp. 166), edited by E. Alfred Jones, with an introduction by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, is issued as vol. XXVI., no. 4, of the *Ohio State University Bulletin*. Alexander Chesney, whose father migrated with his family from Ireland to South Carolina in 1772, first served with the Whigs, from 1776 to 1779, but joined the Loyalists in 1780, and remained in their service until 1782, when he returned to Ireland. He was taken prisoner at King's Mountain, but afterward escaped. Somewhat more than half the journal is devoted to his life in Ireland from 1782 to 1821. Besides copious informing annotations, there are some ninety pages of "Additional Notes" concerning individual Loyalists and others, together with documents pertaining to Chesney's career.

The September number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by Professor William H. Kilpatrick on the Beginnings of the Public School System in Georgia, and one by Mary Lane entitled Macon: an Historical Retrospect. The December number contains a paper by Judge Beverly D. Evans on the Evolution of Jurisprudence; one by Dr. E. Merton Coulter, of the University of Georgia, on the Ante-Bellum Academy Movement in Georgia; and a continuation of the Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Dr. R. P. Brooks.

The Florida State Historical Society was founded December 1, 1921, by a group of citizens of the state and Northerners interested in its history, with Mr. John B. Stetson, jr., as its president. The object is study and research in Florida history and the making accessible in print of important original manuscript materials for that history. It is intended that the volumes, carefully prepared, and limited in each case to 300 copies, shall be supplied to the members at about the cost of production, and that they shall illustrate all the varied periods of Florida history. Among the first volumes will be a treatise on the Aborigines in Florida by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička of the Smithsonian Institution, a bibliography and biography of Bernard Romans, with a reproduction of his map of Florida, prepared by Mr. P. Lee Phillips of the Library of Congress, a treatise on the Loyal-

ists of Florida by Professor W. H. Siebert of the Ohio State University, and several volumes of documents from Seville relating to Florida history in the Spanish period, translated and edited by Mrs. Washington E. Connor. The secretary of the society, to whom subscriptions to membership should be sent, is C. B. Rosa, De Land, Florida.

Frank M. Hawes contributes to the January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* lists of New Englanders in the Florida census of 1850.

A work entitled *History of Alabama, and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, left partly finished by the late Dr. Thomas M. Owen, state archivist, has been completed by Mrs. Owen, his successor in that office, and printed in four volumes (pp. 3289), which can be obtained from Mrs. Owen, at Montgomery. Volumes III. and IV. comprise six or eight thousand biographies, in alphabetical order. The arrangement of the first two or historical volumes is not chronological or that of narration, but is also alphabetical, composing an encyclopedia of historical and other information respecting the state.

Vol. III., no. 4, of the University of Chicago's *Supplementary Educational Monographs* is *A History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi from 1798 to 1860*, by William H. Weathersby, with an introduction by Professor Marcus W. Jernegan. Although Mississippi presented many of the same educational problems that arose in the older South, its educational legislation was influenced by factors not found there; for the original settlers came largely from the back-country regions, and the environment which they entered was comparable to that of the region west of the Alleghanies. These factors led to the establishment of a decentralized school system, with the township, for the most part, as the unit of control. An effort in 1846 to establish a unified system went on the shoals, and the final outcome was a "bewildering maze of school systems". The author's examination into the methods of handling the sixteenth section of public lands in Mississippi (the principal source of public funds for the support of elementary education until those funds were presently lost) is, Professor Jernegan states, "a previously unwritten chapter" in the history of the subject. A large proportion of the children did not, however, attend the public schools, but received their instruction at home or in private institutions. The state's participation in secondary education consisted chiefly in the incorporation of private academies and similar institutions, as many as 179 charters of the sort having been granted prior to 1860. There is also a chapter on the history of higher education in the state, and a special examination into federal and state aid to education.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for October, 1920, just received, is chiefly marked by a series of interesting documents of the French period from the Cabildo archives, illustrating varied aspects of Louisiana life from 1727 to 1753, translated by Mrs. H. H. Cruzat and edited by

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Mr. Henry P. Dart. There are also papers on the constitutions of Louisiana, by W. O. Hart, on the New Orleans custom-house, on the bonded debt of the city, and on the dramatic events of 1874.

The *Year Book* of the Louisiana Society Sons of the American Revolution for 1921, besides including some correspondence relative to the services to the cause of the Revolution rendered by the Louisiana militia under Governor Bernardo de Galvez, in 1779-1781, and an address on the subject by the president of the society, C. Robert Churchill, contains a roster of the militia officers, numerous letters of Governor Galvez, and other related documentary materials.

In the preparation of *La Question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 242), F. P. Renaut used a wide range of source-material and writes with great precision and clarity showing the relation of the Louisiana question to the general political situation.

#### WESTERN STATES

*The Development of High-School Curricula in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918* (pp. 322), by John E. Stout, is vol. III., no. 3, of the *Supplementary Educational Monographs* issued by the University of Chicago. The book is an elaborate study of the subject, based primarily on original sources. Besides discussing at length the development in the organization of subjects and curricula (part I.), conditions and changes in subject-matter (part II.), and recent developments (part III.), it presents many comparative tables of curricula. What will most interest students of history is of course the examination of the place given to history in the high schools and the conditions of history teaching.

*Indian Policy and Westward Expansion*, by James C. Malin, Ph.D., constitutes vol. II., no. 3, of the series of *Humanistic Studies* emanating from the University of Kansas. In the author's view "the early history of the trans-Mississippi Valley is essentially the history of the relation between the Indian and the advancing frontier placed in proper perspective with all the other related problems". The present study is limited to a history of the Indian policy prior to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The history of the period since 1854, which "presents a markedly different aspect", he hopes to relate in a future study. The Indian policy in the period 1830-1854 presents three phases: first, the removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi; second, their consolidation in the southwest; and third, the working out of a new policy, designed to group the Indians to the north and to the south in such a manner as to permit expansion westward between the groups.

Messrs. Harcourt, Brace, and Howe have recently published a short *History of Indiana* by Professor Logan Esarey of the University of Indiana. While intended primarily as a text-book, there is still much in the volume, particularly in those portions treating of the pioneer period, which will be of interest to the general reader.

Among the articles in the July (1920) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Side Lights on Illinois Suffrage History, by Grace W. Trout; Lewis and Clark at the Mouth of Wood River, by Charles G. Gray; the Visit of Colonel Richard M. Johnson to Springfield, May 18-20, 1843, principally from the *Illinois State Register*, May 26, 1843; and Greene County, Born 100 Years ago, by Charles Bradshaw.

In the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* Joseph J. Thompson continues his studies of Pierre Gibault (also in the January number); Rev. John Rothensteiner, in his series of papers on the Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati, relates the history of the La Salle Mission; Alphonsus Lesousky tells the story of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kentucky, which celebrated its centenary in June, 1921; and Stephen J. Palickar writes concerning the Slovaks of Chicago. In the January number there are articles on the historical antecedents of the diocese of St. Louis by Rev. John Rothensteiner, and on the Illinois part of the diocese of Vincennes by the editor, Mr. Thompson.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* are: A History of the Coal Industry in Kentucky, by Willard R. Jillson; and Clark County, Kentucky, in the Census of 1810, copied and edited by A. C. Quisenberry.

The principal paper in the January (1921) number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* is an extended account of the battle of Franklin, by Rev. Dr. W. W. Gist, a participant on the Federal side. There are also a history, principally documentary, of the Tennessee Department of Library, Archives, and History, by A. P. Foster, assistant secretary; and a reprint, from the *St. Louis Republic* of February 28, 1913, of a Yankee Schoolmaster's Reminiscences of Tennessee (1866-1869), by Marshall S. Snow.

Among the articles in the *Michigan History Magazine*, vol. VI, no. 1 (1922), are: the Trial and Execution of the Lincoln Conspirators, by Judge R. A. Watts; Some Marriages in Old Detroit, by Hon. William R. Riddell; and an account of the career of William Austin Burt, Inventor, by Horace E. Burt. In the section of Notes and Comment is found a report upon the condition of the national records of the World War, with emphasis upon the need of an archive building in Washington.

The Detroit Public Library inaugurated in January the publication of the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, which makes its appearance monthly. The first number is devoted to Henry R. Schoolcraft, and consists of selections from his *Personal Memoirs* and from his correspondence. The February number pertains to Colonel John F. Hamtramck, and includes an address by Richard S. Willis, delivered in October, 1897, and some letters (1802-1803) to Hamtramck from Henry Dearborn, sec-



retary of war. The third number contains brief documents on Fort Lernoult, extracts from a commissary's cash-book, 1802-1807, illustrating local tastes and activities, and a general order of Hull, April 29, 1812.

The contents of the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* include Memories of Early Wisconsin and the Gold Mines, by John B. Parkinson; a discussion of the subject of Documenting Local History, by Dr. Joseph Schafer; an account of St. Nazianz, a Unique Religious Colony, by W. A. Titus; and a series of thirteen letters of Eldon J. Canright, a soldier in the "Rainbow" Division of the American Expeditionary Force, written from France between November, 1917, and August, 1918.

The papers of the late James A. Tawney, member of Congress from Minnesota from 1893 to 1911, and member of the International Joint Commission from that date to his death in 1919, have been placed in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The pages of the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are largely occupied with an analysis, by John E. Briggs, of the Legislation of the Thirty-Ninth General Assembly of Iowa (January 10-April 8, 1921). In the January number are found some letters of Stephen H. Hayes, a young minister from Maine, relating his experiences and observations on a journey through the West (Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan) in May and June, 1845, and the third of Mr. Louis B. Schmidt's papers on the Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1860-1890.

In the July (1921) number of the *Annals of Iowa* are two contributions by William H. Fleming, one entitled How Twenty-one and Twenty-nine have been made Halves of Fifty in Iowa, a history of that provision of the state constitution which provides for the election of one-half the senate every two years, the other a sketch of Tilghman A. Howard (1797-1844), member of the Twenty-sixth Congress from Indiana, and chargé d'affaires to the Republic of Texas at the time of his death. Among the other articles are an account, by Mary D. Taylor, of a Farmers' Wives' Society in Pioneer Days, and a brief paper, by E. R. Harlan, concerning Transportation in Iowa before the Railroads.

The January number of the *Palimpsest* contains an account, by Mildred J. Sharp, of the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad, and some Letters of a Railroad Builder, Isaac L. Usher, 1853-1855. In the February number is an account, by Bruce E. Mahan, of Moving the Winnebago (1848).

The contents of the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include, besides continuations, an account, by Walter B. Stevens, of How Missouri Commemorated; the first installment of a study, by Wiley Britton, of Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri (illustrated); and the concluding paper in E. M. Violette's study of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Debt. The January number includes a study of Constitutions

and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri, by Isidor Loeb; a brief paper on the Constitution of 1820, by F. W. Lehmann; and one on Traditions concerning the Missouri Question, by Floyd C. Shoemaker.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by W. P. Webb on the Last Treaty of the Republic of Texas; one by William E. Dunn on the Founding of Nuestra Señora del Refugio, the Last Spanish Mission in Texas; the second installment of the correspondence (1850-1857) between Rutherford B. Hayes and Guy M. Bryan, edited by E. W. Winkler; and the third and concluding installment of the Journal of Lewis B. Harris, 1836-1842.

In Dr. Hodge's *Indian Notes and Monographs*, published by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the latest issue is *A Report from Natchitoches in 1807*, by Dr. John Sibley, found in the Indian Office at Washington, supplementing those descriptive notes by Sibley which were printed in 1806, at the end of President Jefferson's message on the explorations of Lewis and Clark; the *Report* is edited by Miss Annie H. Abel.

*Governors who have been, and other Public Men of Texas*, is the title of a volume by Norman G. Kittrell, brought out in Houston by the Dealey-Adey-Elgin Company.

In the April-June (1921) number of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* is found a brief description of some papers of Major Hannibal Day, U. S. A., recently acquired by the Nebraska State Historical Society. They include a military map of the road between Fort Laramie and Fort Randall, and a journal of the march between these places in 1860.

The principal new article in the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is the Cowlitz Convention: Inception of Washington Territory, by Professor Edmond S. Meany.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* reprints in the December number (from the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. LIII.) John Boit's Log of the *Columbia*, with an introduction by Professor F. G. Young and annotations by Judge F. W. Howay and T. C. Elliott; also (from Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, edition of 1848) the brief remnant of the Official Log of the *Columbia*, with annotations by T. C. Elliott. Mr. Elliott further contributes a memorandum of "Information given personally by Dr. Whitman in Boston, 1843", taken from the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in Boston.

The Century Company has brought out *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence: a Narrative of Seven Years*, by Francis Burton Harrison, former governor-general of the Philippines.

## CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for March has a substantial article, partly historical, by Sir Clifford Sifton, on Some Canadian Constitutional Problems; a review of Lady Gwendolyn Cecil's *Life of the Marquis of Salisbury*, by Professor J. L. Morison; a paper by Mr. A. R. M. Lower of the Board of Historical Publications, Ottawa, on Immigration and Settlement in Canada, 1812-1820; and one by Mr. Fred Landon on the Trent Affair. In connection with Sir Clifford Sifton's article one may mention Sir Robert Borden's Marfleet Lectures at the University of Toronto on *Canadian Constitutional Studies* (Toronto, University Press, pp. 163). The December number of the *Review* had an article on the Gold Colony of British Columbia, by Walter N. Sage.

Mr. P. G. Roy, the new archivist of the province of Quebec, has published an important and voluminous *Rapport* for 1920-1921 (pp. vii, 437).

*McGill and its Story, 1821-1921* (London, John Lane), by Cyrus Macmillan, recounts fitly a century of scholastic achievement.

*Bulletin No. 41* (November) of the Departments of History and Political Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, is a paper, by M. Eleanor Herrington, on Captain John Deserontyou and the Mohawk Settlement at Deseronto.

## AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Articles in the November *Hispanic American Historical Review* are: the Dutch and Cuba, by Miss Irene A. Wright; the Monroe Doctrine and Hispanic America, by Samuel G. Inman; French Views of the Monroe Doctrine and the Mexican Expedition, by Halford L. Hoskins; the Liberation and the Liberators of Spanish America, by Webster E. Browning; and the Boundary of Mexico and the Gadsden Treaty, by J. Fred Rippy. In the section of Documents appear some Royal Ordinances concerning the Laying Out of New Towns, contributed, with an introduction, by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall.

*Problems in Pan Americanism*, by Samuel G. Inman, includes an account of early efforts toward Pan Americanism, a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine and Latin America, etc. (New York, Doran).

Messrs. Appleton and Company will shortly publish a *History of Latin America from the Age of Tiahuanaco to the Present Day*, in one volume, by Professor W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois. The book is intended for the general reader and for use as a text in college and university courses in Latin-American history.

The contents of the January-June (triple number) of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* include a discourse, by Don Silvestre de Abarca, engineer director, upon the defense of Havana (1763); a memoir, by Juan Pio de la Cruz, concerning Guantánamo (1819); two documents pertain-

ing to the López affair at Cárdenas (1850), one of them a vivid account of the fight, by an eye-witness; an *expediente* of documents relative to the filibustering projects of the brothers Julio and Manuel Sanguily (1877); another *expediente* concerning the American schooner *Venus* (1877-1878); and a third, pertaining to the case of General Antonio Macéó (1880).

The life of the Cuban abolitionist and historian of slavery, Saco, and his exile in Europe is made available through the publication of documents by D. Figarola-Caneda under the title, *José Antonio Saco: Documentos para su Vida* (pp. 420). The material is of great interest for the study of the history of Cuba during the colonial period.

The long history of canal diplomacy is reviewed afresh by K. E. Imberg in *Der Nikaragua-Kanal: eine Historisch-Diplomatische Studie* (Berlin, Lissner, 1920).

The Instituto Histórico y Geográfico of Uruguay, founded in 1843 and reorganized in 1915, has lately begun the issue of an annual *Revista* which is evidently destined to give worthy expression to the best of historical scholarship in that republic. The volume for 1920 has a long article of much value on the Spanish Constitution of 1812 in Montevideo, based on solid archival research, by Dr. Gustavo Gallinal, and a careful history, by Don Horacio Arredondo, of Fort Santa Teresa, on the coast near the Brazilian frontier. Continuations of these monographs are presented in the volume for 1921; also an interesting architectural report on Colonia, a city founded by the Portuguese in 1680, and later destroyed by the Spaniards.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. S. Rowe, *The Development of Democracy on the American Continent* (American Political Science Review, February); Rev. Dr. D. Plooi, *Earliest Relations between Leyden and Harvard* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, December); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Story of the Purple Heart: the Medal of Honor of the Revolution* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, February); W. S. Carpenter, *The United States and the League of Neutrals of 1780* (American Journal of International Law, October); O. P. Field, *Ex Post Facto in the Constitution* (Michigan Law Review, January); J. R. Tandy, *Pro-Slavery Propaganda in American Fiction of the Fifties* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Allen Johnson, *The Constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Acts* (Yale Law Journal, December); F. D. Graham, *International Trade under Depreciated Paper: the United States, 1862-1879* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); F. H. Hankins, *De Quelques Transformations Politiques Récents aux États-Unis* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July); *Letters of a High-Minded Man: Franklin K. Lane* (World's Work, March); B. J. Hendrick, *Chapters from the Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, cont. (*ibid.*, January, February, March); Mark Sullivan, *A Year of the Government* (North American Review,

March); F. L. Schoell, *Colonies Alsaciennes dans la Prairie Américaine* (Revue de Paris, January 1); McCune Gill, *The Beginnings of Title in St. Louis* (St. Louis Law Review, February); W. H. Ellison, *The California Indian Frontier* (Grizzly Bear, February, March); Alexander Fraser, *Nova Scotia's Charter* (Dalhousie Review, January); Chanoine Gosselin, *La Paroisse du Canada* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, XXVII. 12); L. A. Prud'homme, *L'Abbé Joseph-Sévère-Nicolas Dumoulin, Missionnaire à la Rivière-Rouge (1818-1823)*, concl. (Revue Canadienne, January); P. Jacinto Martínez, *Páginas Notables sobre la Revolución Hispano-Americana* (España y América, January 1, 15); J. Conangla Fontanilles, *Pi y Margall y la Independencia Cubana*, IV. (Cuba Contemporánea, December); J. P. Renaut, *L'Organisation Constitutionnelle du Brésil*, III. *La Guerre Civile du Sud contre le Nord, 1824* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXV. 2); Ricardo Rojas, *Bartolomé Mitre: his Intellectual Personality*, concl. (Inter-America, English, February).

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